

WAR AND SOCIETY IN EARLY ROME

FROM WARLORDS TO GENERALS

JEREMY ARMSTRONG



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WAR AND SOCIETY IN EARLY ROME

This book combines the rich but problematic literary tradition for early Rome with the ever-growing archaeological record to present a new interpretation of early Roman warfare and how it related to the city's various social, political, religious, and economic institutions. Largely casting aside the anachronistic assumptions of late republican writers like Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it instead examines the general modes of behavior evidenced in both the literature and the archaeology for the period and attempts to reconstruct, based on these characteristics, the basic form of Roman society and its approach to warfare. It will be important for scholars and students studying many aspects of Roman history and warfare, but particularly the history of the regal and republican periods.

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From Warlords to Generals

JEREMY ARMSTRONG

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For ABA and WLA

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Preface and acknowledgments

This project began its life as a PhD thesis, undertaken at the University of St Andrews and completed in 2009. As such, it likely bears some of the hallmarks of this birth, most notably a sometimes awkward literary style in places (which even innumerable rewrites have likely failed to eradicate), and perhaps a certain simplicity as it skips across the top of areas and arguments (for instance the nature of the annalistic tradition, the details of the archaeological record for archaic Latin society – the list is endless) which deserve far more time, depth, and space than I was able to allot here. For these, and any other errors and omissions, I naturally beg the reader's forgiveness.

This project was also written with the help, support, and inspiration of a great number of people and institutions across the world, and while it would be impossible to name them all here I would like to acknowledge a few, without whom the present volume would not have been possible. In particular, I would like to thank the Earnest L. Ransome III Scholarship Trust and the committee for the Ronald Morton Smith Award for their incredibly generous financial support during my postgraduate years. Additionally, I would like to offer my thanks to the University of Auckland for their rather brave decision to hire a young scholar, without a PhD in hand, to a permanent position, and for offering me the resources and funding to develop this project into the book you have in front of you.

On a more personal level, I would like to thank Professor Monica Cyrino and Dr. Richard Berthold for opening up the world of Classics to me as a young undergraduate student at the University of New Mexico and setting me on my current course. At St Andrews, I must thank Dr. Jon Coulston, Professor Christopher Smith, and Dr. Rebecca Sweetman for their excellent supervision. Their patience, guidance, support, and tireless reading of drafts always went above and beyond the call of duty, and I will be forever in their debt for their contributions to my growth, both academically and personally, over the years. I would also like to thank

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Finally, I would like to thank my incredibly patient and forgiving family – and particularly my wife, Ashle – for their unwavering support during the course of this project. This book is for you.

Abbreviations

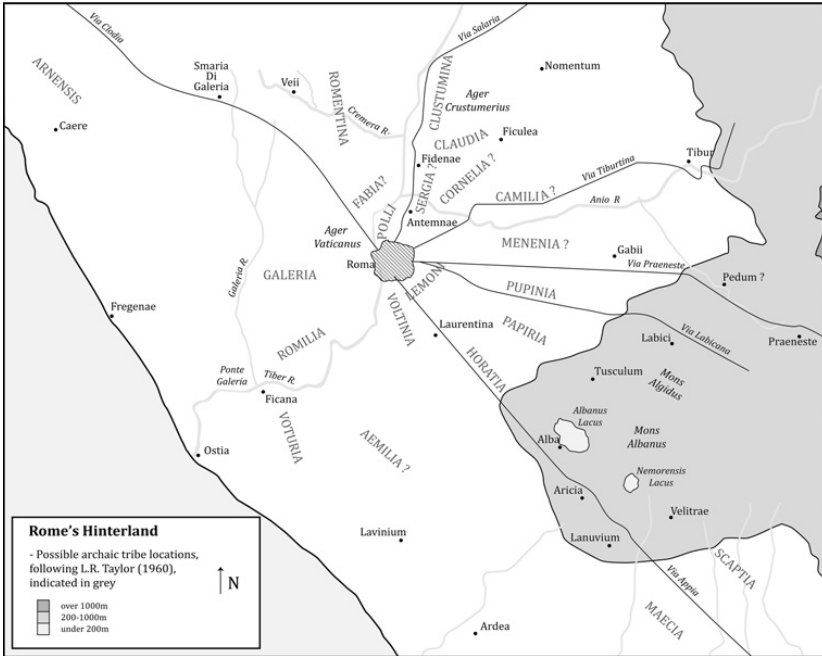
<i>CIL</i>	(1862–2013) <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin.
<i>FRHist</i>	Cornell, T. J. et al. (eds.) (2013) <i>The Fragments of the Roman Historians, Vols. 1–3</i> . Oxford.
<i>GRT</i>	Cristofani, M. (ed.) (1990) <i>Le Grande Roma dei Tarquini: Palazzo Delle Esposizioni, Roma 12 Giugno–30 Settembre</i> . Rome.
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H. (1979) <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Chicago.
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel, H. and R. Scott (1996) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford.
<i>LTUR</i>	Coarelli, F., and G. Battaglini (2004) <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . Rome.
<i>MRR</i>	Broughton, T. R. S. (1986) <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> . Atlanta.
<i>OLD</i>	Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (1968) <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> . Oxford.
<i>RMR</i>	(1973) <i>Roma: Medio Repubblicana: Aspetti Culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei Secoli IV e III A.C.</i> Rome.
<i>TLL</i>	(1894–2010) <i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> . Munich.

All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.

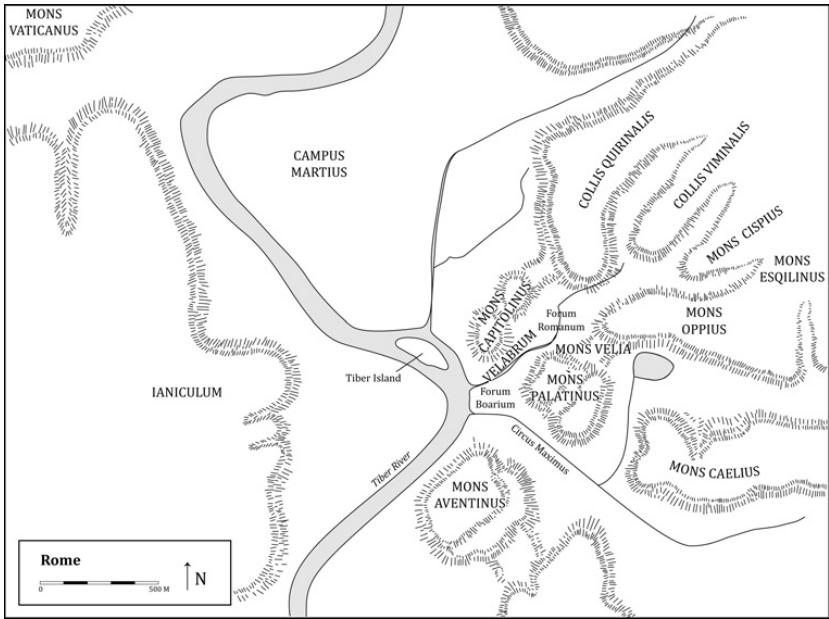
Maps



Map 1 Archaic Latium.



Map 2 Rome's Hinterland.



Map 3 Archaic Rome.

Introduction

There is a very good reason why books on the subject of early Rome always start out with rather lengthy and detailed introductions and methodologies: the problematic nature of the sources for early Rome, coupled with an increasingly diverse range of approaches to them, means that there has yet to be established even a vague, generally agreed upon, overarching historical structure for the period. Indeed, over the past century and more, the field has effectively become something of a “free-for-all,” with violently divergent models of the early city, based on various approaches to and analyses of the evidence, being presented with matching enthusiasm and conviction.¹ In recent years these have ranged from Andrea Carandini’s optimistic *Rome: Day One*, to T. J. Cornell’s more skeptical *Beginnings of Rome* (a volume which, twenty years after its initial publication, arguably still represents the dominant Anglophone work in the field), to Christopher Smith’s *The Roman Clan*, Peter Wiseman’s *Remus* and *The Myths of Rome*, and ultimately the more critical (and perhaps somewhat pessimistic) voices of Kurt Raaflaub and others. Despite being based on roughly the same collection of sources and evidence (the incrementally increasing archaeological record for the period being the only real difference), and the eminence and acumen of the scholars involved, each of these works presents a strikingly different view of the early city and its development. As a result, when it comes to early Roman history, one cannot take a particular starting point as a “given” – for instance, that the city was founded in 753, or even what the word “city” means in an archaic central Italian context – as this must always be established to a certain extent.

At the core of this uncertainty around early Roman history there are, naturally, some fundamental questions about the nature and reliability of the evidence (particularly the literature), but also some very important questions about the society which it relates to. Most notably, it is still

¹ See Cornell 2005 and Raaflaub 2005b for examples and discussion.

entirely uncertain whether Rome should be seen as a highly developed and cohesive community even as late as the fifth and sixth centuries, and if so whether one is able to push this developed model back into the seventh and eighth centuries.² In addition, questions concerning early Rome's internal structure (for instance, who were the early "patricians" and "plebeians" and when did these divisions emerge) have been hot button topics for years, not to mention serious questions about when Rome developed various social, political, and religious institutions.³

In the absence of an established alternative model, early Roman society has traditionally been described (and most often by those not directly concerned with the period itself) employing the same vocabulary and conventions used by Rome's late republican historians, who envisioned a society defined by the same basic principles as their own and plagued by the same issues. As a result, it has been internal divisions, such as the patrician–plebeian dichotomy, and late republican problems, such as land distribution, which have typically taken center stage in interpretations of an early Roman community that is often assumed to have exhibited a high degree of overall social and political cohesion from a very early point.⁴ This approach assumes that Rome, from its foundation until the late Republic, was a reasonably stable and discrete socio-political entity, albeit one made up of a number of constituent groups or factions, and that many (if not all) of the city's social, political, and military developments during the course of the Republic can be explained by the changing balance of power which existed between these groups. Powers were redistributed and relationships changed, but the characters rarely did – and neither did the overall composition and character of Rome. According to this model, Rome was, in many ways, eternal.

Despite the predominance of this paradigm, in which the vast majority of both ancient authors (and surprising number of modern scholars) seem to have believed, there has always been some debate over the details as the resultant model for early Roman society is far from consistent and not entirely supported by either the archaeology or the literary sources. For

² Some scholars have even suggested that the very idea of a distinct Roman identity before the third century could be a "mirage." See, for instance, Gildenhard 2003: 112.

³ See, for instance, Raaflaub 2005a.

⁴ These divisions are most prominent in discussions of the early Republic and are much less evident in the evidence for the regal period, as the development of the plebs as "a state within the state" had arguably not yet occurred – this is usually dated to the secession of 494. As a result, the dichotomous nature of Roman society is nowhere near as clear during the earliest periods, although given the very different nature of the record – far more mythic and anecdotal, and lacking the rigid annalistic structure – the reasons for this could be partly historiographical.

instance, a more nuanced view of the patrician–plebeian dichotomy was advanced back in the early twentieth century AD by Münzer, as scholars struggled to explain various inconsistencies in the literary record, and this topic has been the subject of increasingly intense study in recent years, particularly as it relates the middle and late Republic.⁵ Added to this has been work like Harriet Flower’s *Roman Republics*, which has challenged the monolithic conception of Rome during the republican period, and an increasing body of archaeological evidence hinting that many aspects of Roman society may have changed more significantly than previously thought. A perhaps unintended consequence of this work has been the reexamination of a wide range of evidence which seems to go against the traditional model of early Roman society, which is implied (or sometimes explicitly presented) in the literature. This includes references to events and behavior which do not fit with the expected norms or cast of characters (most notably for this volume, powerful “warlords” occupying a liminal zone in archaic Roman society),⁶ social and political reforms which make little sense in their reported contexts (particularly offices like the problematic consular tribunes), and increasingly a body of archaeological evidence which hints that early Rome may not have exhibited the same physical features that Livy and Dionysius suggest (full circuit walls during the Regal period, etc.). In many cases, and particularly with regard to the literary material, scholars have been aware of this evidence for centuries, although its importance had often been discounted and examples were explained away as errors or literary devices simply because they went against the overt and accepted model. But with the recent challenges to the static and stable conception of Roman society during regal and republican periods, this material is increasingly being viewed in a new light.

⁵ Münzer 1999. Hölkeskamp, in particular, has forever altered the way we view the aristocracy and indeed “class” in the Roman Republic. See particularly Hölkeskamp 1987 and 2010.

⁶ The term “warlord” is not an unproblematic one, and a range of different definitions exist (see Giustozzi 2005, Vinci 2007, and Wijnendaele 2016, among others, for discussion). This study will generally adopt the definition espoused by Vinci, who argued a warlord was “the leader of an armed group that uses military power and economic exploitation to maintain fiefdoms which are autonomous and independent from the state and society” (Vinci 2007: 328). Further, following Wijnendaele, it will suggest that the “fiefdoms” in question do not need to refer to actual territory, but that the term can be used to denote authority more generally, and that members do not need to be born into the group, but can be recruited via a range of methods – most notably patronage. Finally, and again following Wijnendaele, it is worth noting that these “warlords” represent a slightly different, although sometimes overlapping, category from simple “clan leaders” as they existed and functioned outside of the state as discrete socio-political elements. A clan leader could become a warlord, but this was not necessarily or always the case (for instance, if a leader chose to function and exert his power within the confines of the state structure). Conversely, a warlord could revert to being a clan leader or simple citizen if he chose to function within the statue structures.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this reinterpretation has been the recent rise to prominence of the archaic Roman *gentes*, or clans, in scholarship and the question of how these groups fit within early Roman society. The ancient sources clearly saw them existing, as they did in the late Republic, as a core part of the Roman elite – a vital part of Roman society and indeed the primary focus of Rome’s historical tradition. Rome’s *gentes* were, in many ways, Rome itself – or at least the part which mattered. However, careful and critical readings of the literature, coupled with analyses of the growing archaeological record, have suggested that things were not quite as clear cut and that the fundamental nature of Roman society, and particularly the relationship between the *gentes* and the urban community, may have changed quite dramatically from the sixth century down to the late fourth and third centuries, when contemporary histories began to appear. The problem which scholars face delving into these issues, however, is how to deal with the contradictory nature of the evidence – with the overt narrative and traditional model on the one hand, suggesting that Rome’s *gentes* were always a core part of Roman society, and a collection of evidence on the other hand that suggests a more complex picture, but which also represents at best a counter-narrative which is only occasionally visible in the literary narrative (and seemingly appearing by accident) and supported indirectly by the archaeology.

The present volume will attempt to shed some additional light on these issues by avoiding the usual prescriptive (and largely anachronistic) divisions and labels used by late republican historians to frame their histories, and instead focusing on behavior, and in particular behavior associated with warfare, in order to analyze early Roman society. Looking at behavior and broad social characteristics to help explain early Roman society is not an entirely new approach, and indeed it is increasingly becoming the norm for this and other problematic/prehistoric periods (and of course it must be noted that, despite the many sources relating to it, early Rome is a prehistoric period).⁷ The key issue is what type of behavior to look at. Ritual and religion, because of their (at least perceived) conservative and sometimes archaizing tendencies, or architecture and building practices, because of the available archaeological evidence, both represent obvious possibilities, but when attempting to explore and explain the core divisions of Roman society a slightly different “lens” is arguably needed. For this sort of task, recent work in the fields of sociology and psychology has

⁷ See, for instance, MacMullen 2011 and Drogula 2015.

increasingly demonstrated that warfare may be the most useful indicator, as social groupings and societal norms may ultimately be what dictate the nature of warfare within a given society.⁸ While the exact source of individual human aggression is still debated among scientists and social anthropologists, it is evident that human violence is almost always regulated by social rules and constructs.⁹ It is only in rare cases, where individuals either ignore or are unable to recognize these societal constructs, often due to mental illness or lack of societal influence in their formative years, that they engage in violence outside of societal norms.¹⁰ This social control of aggression is taken to another level when aggression is associated with groups. While individual human aggression is usually *governed* by social norms, group aggression seems to be in many ways *created* by a specific set of social rules.¹¹ Indeed, the very formation of self-conscious societies and internal social groupings is often based on the social creation and use of aggression, typically demonstrated by the production of “in-group” and “out-group” biases.¹² As a result, the study of warfare-based divisions within a population can be an extremely useful way to gain insights into existing social divisions, particularly in societies which have yet to develop professional armed forces. Further, as the functions of and motivations for warfare within a society can be associated with particular cross-cultural political principles, warfare also represents a useful lens through which the political organization of a society can be viewed.¹³

Focusing on warfare also has benefits which are specifically relevant to early Rome. Although it is by no means unambiguous, Rome’s military record is arguably the most concrete and stable aspect of the historical record for the enigmatic early period. Remembered in festivals and family histories, commemorated by public constructions, and attested to in treaties, Rome’s wars seem to have formed the skeleton which later

⁸ See Keeley 1997: 8–22 for a detailed summary of this hypothesis and its evidence.

⁹ This debate has dominated the social sciences for over fifty years. Some scholars, predominantly in the physical sciences, maintain that human aggression and warfare have their roots in our genetic material, and were acquired by humans millennia ago as an evolutionary adaptation (see Shaw 1989). This theory was very popular in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, as the birth of genetics as a field seemed to offer the clue to all human behavior (see Manning 1989). However, by the late 1980s this theory was largely debunked by social scientists, who argued for a social basis to warfare. This theory, first put forward by Margaret Mead in her seminal 1940 article “War is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity” (Mead 1940:402–405), is now the dominant theory for *group* violence, whereas the genetic theory still has its proponents when it comes to *individual* violence. The exact connection between group violence and individual violence has yet to be established.

¹⁰ Keeley 1997: 3–25.

¹¹ See Chagnon’s study of Yanomamo warfare for a more detailed discussion of group-created aggression (Chagnon 1997).

¹² Murphy 1957: 1018–1035. ¹³ Bodley 2008: 242–243.

historians then “fleshed out” with their elaborate narratives.¹⁴ Consequently, while Rome’s early wars – and particularly the wars of the early Republic – are perhaps not the “largely undisputed markers” in the city’s early chronology they are sometimes argued to be, they do seem to offer a relatively stable and consistent series of events which are supported by a range of different sources and evidence types.¹⁵ In other words, if we are going to put our faith in any aspect of the literary tradition for early Rome (a suggestion which many might baulk at in the first instance), warfare is arguably the safest. Add to this that various aspects of warfare are also visible in the archaeological record for archaic central Italy – in the form of military equipment finds, iconographic representations, and fortifications – and warfare increasingly emerges as one of the more viable avenues for study.

The present study will argue that when early Roman society is viewed in terms of the community’s military activity, and specifically the groups involved, the character of the conflicts, and the aims and goals accomplished, the resultant picture is one which, like the traditional narrative, is still defined by a series of dualities. However, the new dualities, although sometimes overlapping, do have significant differences from those envisaged by late republican historians. Most notably, the social and political struggle which dominated the sixth and fifth centuries BC in Rome, which is commonly interpreted as a struggle between the plebeians and patricians, can be better described as an interaction between two distinct groups associated with Rome’s settled urban population on the one hand and the region’s more mobile gentilicial elite on the other. During the course of the fifth century, although they seem to have maintained aspects of their previously existing identities, these two groups slowly fused into an increasingly cohesive society during the second half of the century and the beginning of the fourth, forming the basis of Rome’s republican society, and the Roman army of the Republic, as we understand it today.¹⁶ As this

¹⁴ Oakley 2004: 22.

¹⁵ Flower 2010: 37. The wars of Rome’s regal period, largely because of the structural approach adopted for this period in the surviving sources (i.e. dividing the period up by reigns, instead of using an annalistic structure, and focusing on anecdotes), are obviously much more problematic. But while they might not serve as clear chronological markers, the wars recorded for this period can arguably still be viewed as discrete and plausibly historical memories given their evident importance in Roman society in a range of contexts, as will be discussed.

¹⁶ This fusion has been clearly identified at the elite level during the past 100 years (Hölkeskamp 1987; Münzer 1999), but represents much more than a simple integration of aristocracies. It is the unification of completely separate entities which together formed a unified and cohesive Roman society.

duality slowly dissipated in the fourth century, at least at the elite level, the region witnessed the advent and subsequent transformation of new “Roman” and “Latin” identities, which seem to have increasingly existed in opposition to one another during this period. These emergent identities formed the basis of a second duality, which also fused together after significant struggles, to form Rome’s nascent Latin empire in 338.

The end result of this reinterpretation is a revised model for the development of Roman society where many of the conflicts and struggles which were traditionally seen as internal become external – or at least liminal – and part of a larger process of identity creation for Rome. Instead of the Struggle of the Orders representing an internal conflict between two factions within the city of Rome itself – a conflict which bears a striking, and in many ways unsurprising, similarity to Rome’s late republican politics – it becomes a story of incorporation, integration, and compromise, as various entities slowly merge with each other and the burgeoning city state. And interestingly, although it may not have been as useful for historians looking to explain Rome’s political upheaval during the tumultuous years at the end of the Republic and the start of the Empire, it is clear that this alternative version would have still resonated with Rome’s historians – and particularly those with a genuine interest in the earlier periods. Claudius’ speech, recorded on the Tablet of Lyon, clearly demonstrates that incorporation was a powerful, although often ignored, subtext within Roman history, as does everything we know about Cato the Elder’s history of Rome and Italy. The same process of incorporation and integration can also be seen in Rome’s late fourth century conflicts, where the Latins and eventually other Italian peoples were slowly brought into Rome’s socio-political sphere. Through it all, the narrative of integration – with both its ups and downs – is clearly visible.

From a military point of view, the revised model also helps to explain quite a few problematic aspects of both the archaeological evidence and the literary narrative. The increasing disjunction between the archaeological evidence for warfare in central Italy and the traditional model for Roman warfare and Roman society, derived from the explicit literary narrative, has now become impossible to ignore. With the archaeological evidence increasingly pointing toward a vibrant community, but one which seems to have featured a less cohesive gentilicial aristocracy in the sixth and fifth centuries BC than usually thought, along with a *gens*-based domination of warfare in the region of Latium more generally, a model which presents a strong and stable civic militia in Rome during this period is arguably untenable – at least without some serious “tinkering.” Additionally,

many aspects of the literary narrative for Roman warfare and Rome's military development are either contradictory or stand out as highly unlikely given both our understanding of early societies in general, and Roman and Latin society in particular. As a result, the model of military development which featured stability and continuity as the norm, interspersed with the occasional massive change, can instead become a much richer and logical narrative of constant change and evolution driven by Rome's changing relationship with a variety of different entities. Specifically, the evidence increasingly supports a narrative of gradual unification, as central Italy's powerful warlike clans gradually integrated with both each other and the urban center of Rome – although the process was neither clean nor quick.

The various changes that occurred in Rome (and Latium more generally) during the regal and early republican periods were therefore undoubtedly the result of a wide range of very complex factors, many of which are likely to be forever beyond the grasp of modern scholarship due to the inherent problems with the sources for the period. Nevertheless, viewing Roman society through this particular paradigm based on behavior, and specifically warfare, may help to explain certain previously problematic aspects of early Roman development. The present volume will therefore argue for a broad reinterpretation of early Rome where the interaction between particular elements in Roman and Latin society (namely “mobile, extra-mural *gentes*” versus “settled/urban population” and later “Roman” versus “Latin”) is explored as possible explanations for change in various aspects of early Roman society and warfare. The study will also present reinterpretations of more specific points within the paradigm of the larger dualisms and dichotomies, demonstrating how significant their impact was on the internal workings of early Roman society.

The study of early Roman warfare

The character and development of the early Roman army have long been objects of fascination for scholars, both ancient and modern. This is due in large part to the very prominent role which Rome's military forces have traditionally played in interpretations of the early history of the city, with Rome's growing power in Italy being principally the result of military conquest, and with the formation of many of Rome's early social and political institutions being linked to large-scale military reforms.¹⁷ What

¹⁷ See Cornell 1988 for discussion.

may be referred to here as the “traditional model” has commonly been used to describe Rome’s earliest armed forces and their evolution during the early regal period and early Republic. Dating to at least the first century, if not earlier, the traditional model laid out a sequence of development which saw Rome’s transition from a tribal army to a hoplite phalanx in the sixth century, and the emergence of the manipular legion in the fourth century. This sequence can be found in a relatively complete, albeit undetailed, form in texts like the first century *Ineditum Vaticanum*, but the version which is most often employed is largely derived from a series of small, in-depth asides which exist within the larger narratives of late republican historians such as Livy and Dionysius.¹⁸ Despite the relatively late date of most of the extant examples, it is evident that various individual aspects of the traditional model clearly had origins much earlier than the first century, as there is a wide range of evidence supporting their existence in the second and third centuries, and possibly even the late fourth century.¹⁹ This model, chiefly based on an implied parallel between Roman and Greek military development, presented a clear and coherent model for the evolution of warfare in early Rome which has consequently formed at least the starting point of almost every subsequent study of the early Roman army.²⁰

As with many other facets of early Roman history, despite the traditional model’s internal consistency and its dominance in both the ancient sources and modern works on the subject, a tension has always existed between the passages which expound it and both the rest of the literary evidence and, more recently, the archaeological record, with the two sets of sources often presenting a contradictory image of Roman warfare, particularly for the earliest periods. This tension has been increased in recent years, as obvious anachronisms within the traditional model, coupled with modern methods of source criticism, have served to raise further doubts.²¹ Attacks have come

¹⁸ See for instance Goldsworthy 2003.

¹⁹ Most notably, in addition to second century sources like Polybius, there was the long tradition of historiography, which is still visible in the works of later historians like Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which implied that the origins of various aspects of this system lay in much earlier periods. For instance, the comparison between the Roman army and the army of Alexander presented in Livy (Liv.8.8, see [Chapter 3](#)) suggested an origin in the late fourth or early third century.

²⁰ Thankfully this model has undergone some revision in recent years, largely because of advances in our understanding of early Greek warfare, although the explicit testimony of the literary sources is still generally taken as essentially correct in concept, if not in detail. See, for example, Rich 2007:15–20.

²¹ Rawson illustrated the stress on the traditional model in no uncertain terms back in the 1970s, noting the unreliability of the literary tradition and its agreement with the growing archaeological

from a variety of different angles, with one of the most prominent being the dissolution of the assumed Greek conceptual foundation to early Roman society. As van der Vliet noted, although ancient historians, following in the footsteps of the ancients, are accustomed to seeing strong parallels between early Rome and the early Greek *poleis*, with both often assumed to have represented the same kind of “city state,”²² this is increasingly seen as being incorrect.²³ Apparent similarities between the two cultures are now recognized as being often the result of historiographical conventions, which casts ever more doubt over the obviously Greek-influenced model of early Roman warfare.²⁴

Recent works in other areas of ancient warfare have also served to cast doubt over the acceptance of such ancient literary models in general, arguing that even at best they represent rationalizations of what were in actuality very complex systems.²⁵ Most notably, Hans van Wees’ seminal 2004 work, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, exploded many of the theories upon which the modern conception of ancient Greek warfare was founded by criticizing just such a model:

... current models of the development of Greek warfare are based on an unduly selective and somewhat naïve reading of the limited and unreliable ancient evidence. . . the model relies on positing change on the basis of claims made by later sources about how things used to be, while in parts also positing continuity and projecting elements of classical Greek warfare back into the archaic age. This is hardly satisfactory . . . more generally, the problem with the study of Greek warfare of any period is that so many ancient authors tell us about military ideals . . . [and] if there is one common failing in modern work on the subject, it is that it underestimates how wide the gap between ideal and reality could be.²⁶

This rebuke could easily be applied to the many models of early Roman warfare, and indeed many of the points criticized by van Wees, with regard to scholarship on Greek warfare, are even more pertinent to models of early Rome, particularly when discussing the evidence, anachronisms, and the use of military ideals.

record on only the most basic of issues, and concluding that “any exact history of [military] developments is probably quite unattainable. . .” (Rawson 1971: 13). See Drogula 2015: 8–130 for more recent discussion.

²² For instance, see the recent work on early state development by Eckstein (2006).

²³ Vliet 1990: 255. ²⁴ *Ibid.*: 255.

²⁵ See, for instance, d’Agostino’s work on Etruscan warfare (d’Agostino 1990).

²⁶ van Wees 2004: 1–2.

Given the traditional importance of the Roman army in both the events of the early Republic and in the evolution of the early state, these doubts about the validity of the traditional model have been a cause for some concern and have elicited a variety of responses from the scholarly community. Some have tried to adjust the traditional model in order to reconcile it with the available evidence, with varying degrees of success,²⁷ while others have chosen to accept the traditional model as it stands, albeit with a caveat.²⁸ Neither of these approaches actually confronts the inherent limitations of the evidence, and they continue to provide undue weighting to the highly anachronistic asides which have hitherto formed the basis of the traditional model of early Roman warfare. In addition, as noted previously, the increasing amount of archaeological evidence pointing toward a weak state and a strong and warlike clan-based aristocracy makes the basic premise behind the traditional model somewhat problematic to say the least.

The present volume will therefore argue for an alternative approach to the evidence for warfare in Latium and central Italy based around five basic premises. First, that the traditional model of Roman military development represents an anachronistic, idealized, and often hellenocentric interpretation of an actual sequence of events based on a late republican mindset. This is naturally not an entirely new position, as modern scholarship has increasingly come to grips with the clear and fundamental problems present within the transmitted narrative and traditional model, but it is worth noting that this is one of the starting premises of this study. This is also not to say, however, that the literary evidence upon which the traditional model is based should be wholly discarded, as this would represent “throwing the baby out with the bathwater.” Instead, the evidence should be viewed in the context of its authorial bias toward a state-based system and reinterpreted in the light of more recent finds and models. Second, this study will work based on the assumption that Rome’s military forces, while the result of a unique developmental sequence, were part of a larger Latin military context. Consequently, Rome’s military forces cannot be viewed in isolation, but must be understood within a larger Latin and central Italian model. Third, that change in Rome’s early military structure and approach to warfare did not occur in isolation, but was linked to changes in wider Roman society. Fourth, that the development of military forces in Latium was not driven by large, top-down reorganizations by single

²⁷ See, for instance, Last 1945, Cornell 1995a, b, and Sumner 1970.

²⁸ See, for instance, Keppie 1998:17.

individuals, but was made up of gradual shifts which were in turn the result of changes in the social, political, economic, and demographic framework of the region. This is not to say that major reorganizations did not occur, but rather that they tended to represent an acknowledgment of the changing situation on the ground as opposed to forcing change in their own right. And finally fifth, that both the archaeological evidence and literary evidence need to be considered in order to address this issue. None of these premises should come as a shock, but they should help to situate the study in terms of the other relevant literature on the subject.

Perhaps more importantly, this study will also attempt to “re-humanize” early Roman warfare and the early Roman army. All too often in military studies, the temptation to remove armies and warfare from the physical realm and study them in more theoretical terms has been too hard to resist.²⁹ Driven in part by the rise of “military science” in the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment environments, warfare has often been seen, described, and analyzed as one might view a complex machine or a chemical reaction. Consequently, while all other elements of society are allowed to pursue their normal sequence of development, armies are often assumed to act in a highly logical manner, making the most of the resources available to them and functioning in a mechanistic fashion.³⁰ This is particularly true with Roman warfare, where armies are often thought to have developed in a logical way, often following a sort of technological determinism, and are typically depicted (and all too often envisioned) as perfect squares of soldiers moving about on the battlefield, each with an express purpose, and all acting as part of a grand scheme to pursue a higher goal.³¹ However, as Boethius noted in his study of early Roman architecture, one must remember that in early Rome the “heroic wars fought by mighty armies were really nothing more than quarrels about damaged crops and stolen cattle.”³² For most of the period covered in this study there were only limited communal goals, if any, and the warriors on

²⁹ In modern military studies, this tendency can be traced back to Enlightenment thinkers who abandoned the anecdotal approach to military studies used in classical “military handbooks” and instead searched for overarching rules and maxims by which the practice of war could be explained and perfected. While the works of Hobbes (1588–1679) and Rousseau (1712–1778) were both highly influential in the search for a universal doctrine on warfare, Clausewitz’s (1780–1831) *On War* (Clausewitz 1873) represented the peak of its development in practical terms, while Delbruck advanced the same principles for the study of ancient warfare.

³⁰ This tendency to impose modern military paradigms on ancient armies is likely to have been the result of ancient military studies being traditionally dominated by active or retired military officers.

³¹ This approach to Roman warfare is best typified by nineteenth century military history (most notably Delbruck), but is still visible in modern works. See, for instance, Gabriel and Boose 1994.

³² Boethius 1978: 9.

the battlefield were unlikely to be moving in anything resembling the neat squares and rectangles used in modern tactical drawings. Part of the express purpose of this study is therefore to reinsert the human element into early Roman warfare, and examine how broader the social, political, and economic environment of early Latium would have dictated the warfare conducted in the region.

Time frame

The time period covered in this study, from *c.* 570 to 338, will be divided into five chapters. [Chapter 1](#) will cover the period from the traditional start of the reign of Rome's sixth *rex* Servius Tullius (*c.* 570) down to the advent of the Republic in 509.³³ [Chapter 2](#) will discuss the period from 509 to 452 and the reign of the *decemviri*. [Chapter 3](#) will cover from 452 down to the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390, and the [final chapter](#) will cover the period from 390 until the dissolution of the Latin League in 338. The starting date of *c.* 570 was chosen for several reasons. Although the dichotomy or division within Roman society between the community's urban (and earlier proto-urban)³⁴ population and the region's gentilicial elite likely had its roots in archaic Latin society, it was only in the sixth century that it seems to have become a dominant feature of Roman society and started to take on many of its later attributes. While it is probable that Rome had always been home to a number of powerful clans, the sixth century saw a marked rise in their number, and also their ambitions, creating a situation which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the final *rex c.* 509 and the creation of an aristocratic power sharing arrangement with the advent of the Republic. But the Republic was far from a perfect system and the division and tension between the urban community of Rome and the powerful *gentes* who had made it their home would go on to define and drive the vast majority of Rome's social, political, and military development for the next two hundred

³³ Although the figure of Servius Tullius may have, at its core, represented an authentic historical figure (indeed, he seemed to be attested in both Roman and Etruscan sources), it is likely that most of his attributed activities represented the anachronistic interpretations of later writers. Given the problematic nature of the lengths of reigns of various Roman *reges*, coupled with the highly anachronistic nature of the narrative for Servius Tullius, this start date for his reign (*c.* 570) should be taken as approximate, with the purpose being to include the reigns of Rome's final two traditional *reges* (Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus) in this study, and not give an absolute chronology. See Cornell and Lomas 1995: 119–126 for discussion.

³⁴ The term "proto-urban" will be used in the present thesis to describe Rome's sedentary population prior to the final synoecism of the early city's constituent communities.

years. The mid sixth century then, as the point where the gentilicial elite seem to have reached a critical mass within the community, constitutes an appropriate point to begin the discussion. More importantly, however, the present study's starting point in the sixth century has also been influenced by the nature of the sources that exist for early Rome. While the nuances of this evidence will be discussed later in detail, it should be noted that both the literary sources and interpretations of the archaeological material for early Rome are highly problematic, and it is not until the historical narrative reaches the third century that there is strong modern consensus on the exact sequence and scope of events. That being said, the scholarly suspicion of the evidence for early Rome is not entirely homogenous for all periods, as certain phases are often viewed as being slightly more problematic than others.³⁵ The period before the sixth century is undoubtedly one of these more uncertain periods, where fact is ultimately indistinguishable from myth and fable, and where even the basic chronology of events is still debated.³⁶ As a result, this study will begin with the final years of Rome's regal period, when the basic structure of Rome's history becomes slightly more secure and where at least a rough chronology can arguably be established.³⁷

³⁵ As Rome's historical narrative nears the era of the Republic, the amount of corroborating evidence grows substantially. For the literary tradition, although their exact nature is still uncertain, Cicero suggests in *De oratore* (Cic. *De or.* 2.52) that the *Annales Maximi*, upon which many later historians may have based their accounts (although there is no evidence for direct usage of the records in either Livy or Dionysius, see *FRHist* 1.143), went back to the dawn of Roman history (i.e. the beginnings of the Republic, when the *pontifex maximus* emerged), noting: "History was nothing more than the compilation of yearly chronicle [*Annales*], and for the purpose of this matter and for the preservation of the memory of public events, the chief priest, from the beginnings of Roman history down to the time when Publius Mucius Scaevola was chief priest, committed to writing all the events of each year, displayed them on a white tablet and exhibited the tablet at his house, in order that the people might have the opportunity to learn about them" (trans. May and Wisse 2001). See *FRHist* 2. *Annales Maximi* T2. This assertion has been interpreted as indicating that the *Annales Maximi* may have gone back at least as far as the late sixth century, and has been supported by a range of scholars (see Ogilvie 1965: 6 ff. and *FRHist* 1.141–159 for discussion). There were also other sources of archaic information, with Polybius claiming to have seen, firsthand, a record of a treaty between Rome and Carthage dating to the first year of the Republic (509) (Polyb. 3.22), strong evidence for other archaic inscriptions like the Pyrgi tablets (see Schmitz 1995), and the Laws of the 12 Tables, dating to the middle of the fifth century, may have been available to late Roman historians in some form, as with the consular *fasti*.

³⁶ For instance, even the basic sequence and chronology of Roman *reges* are still debated. As many scholars have noted, many of Rome's early *reges* seem to be little more than mythical figures or stereotypes and Rome's list of *reges* does not seem to contain enough men to cover the vast span of the regal period (having only seven *reges* over almost 250 years is without historical precedent). Some, like Scullard, have argued that the early, pre-Etruscan *reges* may have been fictional (Scullard 1967: 254–255) while others, like Cornell, have offered up several possible solutions to this dilemma which include shortening the regal period by bringing forward the foundation date, and inserting other, previously unmentioned *reges* into the list (Cornell 1995b: 121–154).

³⁷ Cornell 1995a: 130–141.

The subsequent delineating dates used in this study are no less crucial; however, each must be viewed within the larger historical context. As Flower noted, although this sort of periodization of the Roman Republic is clearly constructed from the perspective of hindsight and no “time map” can ever be definitive, it is not entirely arbitrary either and can provide a useful mechanism for discussing the development of the community.³⁸ While each period will be shown to illustrate a distinct phase of Rome’s military activity, the dates cannot, and should not, be seen as either definitive or absolute. This is because the changes and developments which occurred in the Roman army cannot be accurately associated with particular dates or single events, as they were the result of long periods of slow evolution, and also because the dates themselves must be taken with caution given the problematic nature of the evidence. That being noted, the relative dates, and more specifically the events which demarcate each period, are not without importance as they often served as either a catalyst or accelerant to previously existing shifts, or represented a defining moment within a longer running development.

According to Roman foundation myths, the year 509 marked the formal creation of the Roman Republic and the deposing of the last *rex* of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus.³⁹ The period of the *decemviri*, which supposedly began in 452, marked the beginning of a major reorganization of Roman military commands in the literary evidence, which included the introduction of the consular tribunate and censorship. The sack of Rome in 390 (according to the Varronian chronology) witnessed what Livy described as the “rebirth” of the city,⁴⁰ and marked the beginning of a period of rapid military expansion for Rome in Italy. The year 338 marked the official integration of the Latins into the Roman army and, as De Sanctis noted, marked a watershed in Roman history, and particularly in the development of the Roman army.⁴¹ After 338, Rome’s military forces were no longer simply united by membership of a single community, but contained allied Latin forces on a full time basis and became a more regional force.

³⁸ Flower 2004: 18–34.

³⁹ This study will generally follow the Varronian chronology throughout. This system, established at the end of the Republic (by Varro among others), has the first consuls/*praetores* in 509, the Decemvirs in 451–450, the Gallic sack in 390, etc. and is effectively a reconstruction based on the *Fasti Capitolini* and is at times slightly different from the chronologies used by Livy and Dionysius. However, in the absence of a single, universally agreed upon chronology for the period, the traditional Varronian serves as well as any. See Cornell 1995b: 399–402 for a more detailed discussion and a similar conclusion.

⁴⁰ ...*secunda origine*... (Liv. 6.1). ⁴¹ De Sanctis 1907: vol. II, p. 274–275.

Despite the efforts of the present study to stay within the chronological confines described above, as Oakley astutely noted, “many historical problems posed by [the ancient evidence] are not easily bounded by the ends of years,” with the result that certain aspects of the study may stray outside the prescribed time periods.⁴² This is particularly true with the early periods of Roman history (or proto-history), where discrete temporal points are extremely hard to identify, and events are best dated in terms of “before” and “after.” Moreover, given the nature of the development of Rome’s military and political structures throughout the Republic, and the origin of so much of our evidence in the late Republic, the occasional trespass into later periods is unavoidable, although perhaps justifiable for the benefits it provides.

Overall methodology

Any study which endeavors to understand the events of early Rome must make allowances for the problematic nature of the sources for it. Given the discrepancies which exist between various accounts of early Rome, and even in the magistrate lists which form what is generally agreed to be the most reliable form of evidence for the period, the particular historicity of any event or figure from early Rome will always be a problem.⁴³ Indeed, Cato’s supposed refusal to identify individuals by name in the *Origines* hinted that the very concepts of both personal and political identity of Roman historical figures underwent an evolution during the middle and late Republic.⁴⁴ The present study will therefore not attempt to provide a detailed picture of Roman military or political evolution, but will develop its model by identifying broad themes and trends in Latin and Roman society which will be used to define various periods or epochs of warfare and socio-political development. This “metanarrative” approach will therefore utilize the various minutiae which make up the historical narrative, but only as circumstantial evidence for larger shifts in the character of Roman military behavior. It will focus on the broad distribution of events and activities and a wide range of indirect evidence, rather than the explicit explanations provided by the historical sources. Each trend will also be supported by a wide range of evidence, both literary and archaeological, which will tie Roman military development into its larger central Italian context. Particular importance will be given to contemporary evidence when developing these themes and trends, with the result that archaeology and iconography, when available, will often be given precedence over literary

⁴² Oakley 1997: 331. ⁴³ Stewart 1998: 2. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 4; Pliny *NH* 8.11.

accounts. While the methodology utilized by this study, coupled with its scale and scope, will result in a less detailed model than that offered by other studies, it will also help to nullify the effect of the anachronistic interpolations and explanations of the late republican historians and bring many of the “outlying” aspects of the narrative into line with the broader historical picture. This “metanarrative” perspective will hopefully offer a more complete picture of historical causation, emphasizing broad evolutionary changes as opposed to historical anomalies.⁴⁵

Aims and purpose

The present study does not offer a meticulous discussion of early Roman sources, early Roman society, or indeed early Roman warfare, where every idiosyncratic aspect is explained. The nature of the evidence for the period makes such an approach highly impractical and in many cases simply impossible. Rather, what this study offers is a new paradigm for understanding both early Roman society and warfare supported by broad trends in behavior. In doing so it will suggest that the many of the fundamental divisions, struggles, and stimuli within early Rome, which drove so much of early Rome’s social, political, and military development, have hitherto been misunderstood. Early Roman society, and the early Roman army, did not merely undergo a series of superficial and administrative changes during the regal and early republican periods – changing their appearance and how they were structured, but maintaining a reasonably stable makeup and character – as is often argued. Although the relative importance and impact of reforms like the “Servian Constitution” have been discussed at length, the primary significance of these developments has usually been seen as the reorganization or realignment of a stable population toward a new system – generally favoring the state over clans or family affiliations. The present volume will instead suggest that the nature of Roman society, the Roman population, and the Roman army all fundamentally changed and were reinterpreted during this period, as evidenced by the tremendous changes in the approach to warfare. The argument will be made for the transition from a largely extramural, gentilicial raiding culture, which existed in the seventh and sixth centuries, to a community-based army bent on territorial conquest which emerged in the late fourth and third centuries, and that this transition represented, and indeed required, a series of broader social and cultural shifts within Roman society.

⁴⁵ Stewart 1998: 4.

CHAPTER I

The evidence

Any scholar who ventures into the murky waters of early Rome must, first and foremost, decide how to approach the evidence for the period. Although there is a broad range of surviving literary sources which focus the history of Rome during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries, the entire literary record for the period is highly problematic. Even the earliest of the surviving sources were written several hundred years after the events they described, and all of the accounts were based upon a collection of earlier sources (including both oral and literary traditions), and centuries of historiographical development, which are now lost. As a result, most of our detailed information on Rome's early military activity and organization was transmitted through several different works, and may have been anachronistically reinterpreted numerous times (possibly introducing issues of bias, hindsight, and what is sometimes called "creeping determinism" or teleology),¹ before it was finally put down in our surviving sources. In addition, the majority of the surviving sources were written by men who had little to no firsthand military experience (although their sources likely did),² making their accounts of Rome's military development even more

¹ Hindsight and creeping determinism refer to two ways in which a historian's own judgment and understanding of the past can influence a historical narrative. In particular, hindsight refers to the bias that assumes that the eventual outcome of an event, or sequence of events, was known beforehand, while creeping determinism refers to the idea that an event or development was ultimately inevitable. While in some cases, where the historian was writing in close temporal proximity to the events he was describing, the impact of hindsight and creeping determinism may not be very noticeable, when the gap between historian and events was as large as it was in the case of early Rome and her historians, the impact can be immense, and must be accounted for in any subsequent analysis. See Florovsky 1969: 351–369 for discussion.

² This refers particularly to the authors of the principal surviving works: Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, etc. It must be noted, however, that some early historians did have significant military experience (see particularly Fabius Pictor, Cato the Elder, Calpurnius Piso, Polybius, etc.), but with the exception of Polybius, whose work only applies indirectly to the period in question, the works of these militarily savvy authors only survive in fragments, if at all.

difficult to decipher as they themselves sometimes struggled to understand or explain aspects of military practice.³

The other source of evidence for early Rome and Latium, the archaeological record, has given the study of early Rome a significant boost in recent years⁴ but has, unfortunately, yet to make its mark on early Roman military studies. While there is a growing body of archaeological evidence for the development of Rome and other sites in Latium during the Italian Iron Age (c. 1020–580) and into Rome's archaic and republican periods,⁵ there is only limited and indirect evidence for early military activity, most of which is related to fortifications or has been recovered from funerary contexts, both of which are burdened by significant, inherent problems of interpretation.⁶ Additionally, there is a distinct decline in the amount of archaeological evidence in general, and particularly for military activity, available for Rome and Latium dating to the fifth and fourth centuries.⁷ Recent work at sites like Gabii, Satricum, and indeed Rome itself is slowly beginning to shed light on Latin culture during these centuries, but the evidence for warfare is still scant and decidedly awkward to interpret.⁸

The purpose of this chapter is to present the sources for early Roman military activity, and to expand on the basic methodology laid out in the introduction. Focusing initially on the literary sources, this chapter will leave aside the surviving material, about which a tremendous amount has already been written,⁹ and instead discuss “the sources of our

³ Livy's problems with military matters are widely documented (see Walsh 1996: 143, 157 for discussion. See Liv. 10.2.5; 29.7.3; 38.27.2; 9.19.7–8, etc. for examples). These issues were likely to have been related to Livy's apparent lack of military experience, the aim and purpose of his work, and his distinct lack of interest in firsthand accounts and information.

⁴ This boost has not only been derived from the publication of new evidence (see, for instance, Kampen *et al* 2005, De Grummond 2005, and Terrenato 2001, among others), but also through the increasing incorporation of archaeological material into mainstream interpretations of early Rome (in Anglophone scholarship see most notably Cornell 1995b, in addition to Smith 2006 and to a much lesser extent Forsythe 2005, and most recently Fulminante 2014. For Italian scholarship see Colonna 1976, Carandini 1997, 2006, and 2007, Carandini and Cappelli (eds.) 2000, and Coarelli 1994 to name but a few).

⁵ See Holloway 1994 and Smith 1996 for general discussions of the evidence.

⁶ Bishop and Coulston noted that “compared to later periods, our knowledge of the republican military equipment is sadly deficient. Lacking detailed archaeological evidence, we are driven to depend upon literary accounts of dubious merit, and occasional pieces of representational evidence. Only with the Punic Wars [264] do we begin to find artifacts not deposited in funerary contexts.” (Bishop and Coulston 2006: 48).

⁷ It is possible that more evidence for this period exists, but has been misidentified (this is particularly true for coarse ware). See Bouma and Prummel 1996 for discussion of this phenomenon.

⁸ See for instance Gnade and Rubini 2002 along with Mogetta and Becker 2014.

⁹ The bibliography for the surviving sources for early Rome is far too long to list in any complete form, but see Hill 1961, Ogilvie 1965, Hamilton 1969, Gabba 1960 and 1991, Forsythe 1994, Walsh 1996,

sources,”¹⁰ where much of the information about early Rome originated. It will then argue that while the literary sources do have a foundation of solid information, much of the “traditional model” for Roman military development from the sixth to the fourth centuries was likely to have been a late republican interpretation of how the early Roman army developed and behaved. That being said, there may be enough detail found in the literary record as a whole to develop an alternative model, although one which will necessarily lack the detail of that explicitly presented by the ancient authors. This chapter will then present a brief summary of the archaeological evidence which exists for Rome and Latium for the period in question, demonstrating how it can be combined with the literary evidence to provide a viable basis for possible alternate models.

The literary evidence

Our surviving literary sources for early Rome can be roughly categorized into three types: historical narratives, antiquarian accounts, and historical epics.¹¹ The most widely used of these, at least for the study of early Roman history, is the historical narrative, and particularly those by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus as they provide the most complete, coherent, and longest-running accounts of the history of early Rome.¹² The second type of literary source, Rome’s antiquarian accounts, includes some of the works by Plutarch, portions of Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliotheca historia*, and many of the references to early Rome found in authors like Cicero, Velleius Paterculus, and others. These works provide a rich, although slightly more problematic source of information on early Rome. Filled with anecdotes, these sources are often organized topically as opposed to chronologically, and tend to focus on particular figures or traditions in Roman history, and therefore provide vivid, but limited, snapshots of the past with varying levels of credibility.¹³ The third literary genre, historical epic, is typified by

Oakley 1997 and 1998, Rubincam 1998, and Champion 2004 for a representative sample of works on the subject.

¹⁰ Cornell 1995b: 4–16.

¹¹ Any division of sources, particularly of those which relate to a period for which so few exist, is necessarily arbitrary and can often be misleading. This particular division was made to help organize the sources into manageable groups and does not indicate a value judgment on any of the sources because the division was based almost entirely on the nature of their structure and organization (chronological vs. topical).

¹² Most histories of early Rome and the early Roman army, for instance Keppie’s *The Making of the Roman Army* (Keppie 1998), relied almost exclusively on Livy and Dionysius for their basic structure.

¹³ Stadter 1989: xxvi.

Virgil's *Aeneid* and represents the most problematic type of evidence for a historian of early Rome.¹⁴ Typically based on mythologized versions of early Rome, works in this genre are often disregarded by modern historians as viable sources. However, given that one of the first historical epics, Ennius' *Annales*, may have represented an important source for later historians, the importance of this type of work should not be discounted so easily. Naturally there are works which break this simple typology, for instance Ovid's *Fasti*, which could arguably be placed in both the antiquarian and epic categories, but as a basic division it is helpful for considering the importance of genre, intent, audience, etc.

Despite their myriad differences, the surviving sources from these three literary categories are all ultimately based on the same, now fragmentary or lost, collection of evidence for early Rome. Made up of Rome's oral tradition, native annalistic accounts, and early Greek histories of Rome, this corpus formed the sum total of what was actually transmitted from early Rome to the late Republic. While each author presumably had access to different sources, and may have utilized different accounts depending on his needs and purpose, the total amount of authentic information about early Rome transmitted in our surviving late republican texts cannot have exceeded the total amount of information contained in this corpus. As a result, a detailed understanding of the corpus can provide important insight into what information can be relied upon, and what, in all likelihood, represents late republican anachronisms or fabrication.

Rome's oral tradition

As far back as the seventeenth century AD, scholars presented evidence for an early oral tradition in Rome being the basis for many aspects of Rome's early history,¹⁵ and it is now generally accepted that most of the stories relating to early Rome were based on what was originally orally transmitted material.¹⁶ Although evidence of this type is virtually impossible to trace with any certainty,¹⁷ scholars have regularly attempted to delve into the

¹⁴ It should be noted that the genre of historical epics covers a wide range of works of varying historicity. The *Aeneid*, given its aims, purpose, and indeed sources, is likely to have been far less historical than works like Ennius' *Annales*, Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, Cicero's *Marius*, or *De Consulatu Suo*, although even so the *Aeneid*'s importance as a source for the Roman conception of the early city should not be ignored. See Boyle 1996 for discussion.

¹⁵ Momigliano 1957: 104–114. ¹⁶ Cornell 1995b: 10–11; Oakley 1997: 22.

¹⁷ Wiseman noted correctly, but disappointingly, that before the middle of the third century we simply “do not know how the Romans conceived or recorded the memory of their own past” (Wiseman 1998: 19).

nature of this lost resource in order to determine how this tradition was transmitted and how much accurate oral information on early Rome may have been available to Rome's historians.¹⁸

One of the first coherent theories on this oral tradition, commonly associated with the nineteenth century historian Niebuhr, argued that many of the legends and traditions of early Rome had been created and were passed down in the form of poetry or ballads which were sung at banquets,¹⁹ as described by Cato.²⁰ While the existence of these ballads in the early Republic is corroborated by Varro,²¹ Cicero noted that by the late Republic these songs were no longer sung and had not been for some time.²² Therefore, while it is possible that some of these songs and ballads survived into the late third century to be used by the first Roman historians, the evidence is decidedly problematic.²³

Another theory, which has become popular among modern scholars, concerns the prominent role which theater and dramatic performances might have played in the transmission of early myth and tradition.²⁴ As scholars throughout the years have noted, the nature and form of many of the stories in the narratives of Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch have decidedly dramatic characteristics.²⁵ While this may simply be the result of each author's desire to keep the narrative interesting and exciting,²⁶ Heurgon argued that these dramatic characteristics may indicate an origin in drama.²⁷ Indeed, by the late Empire it was taken for granted that the *fabulae*, based on the mythology of early Rome, were acted out in the theater during the Republic.²⁸ Wiseman argued that it is possible

¹⁸ See particularly the two collective volumes Ungern-Sternberg and Reinau 1988 and Vogt-Spira 1989, or the summary in Wiseman 1995: 130.

¹⁹ Niebuhr 1811: 177–180. ²⁰ Cato *Orig.* 7.13. See also Cic. *Tusc.* 4.2 for the reference to Cato.

²¹ Varro *de Vita Populi Romani* 11, *up.* Non. Marc. p. 77 NI = p. 107 L.

²² "...would there were still extant those songs, of which Cato in his *Origines* has recorded, that long before this time the several guests at banquets used to sing in turn the praise of famous men!" (Cic. *Brut.* 75, trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell 1962).

²³ Pareti (see particularly Pareti 1952) argued that some of these ballads were committed to writing, although there is no evidence indicating that any survived, in written or unwritten form, to the time of Cato or the first Roman historians. See Momigliano 1957: 104–114 for a detailed discussion of the "Ballad Theory."

²⁴ Although this theory has been championed by some scholars, such as Wiseman (2004) and Heurgon (1955), it has also come under a fair degree of criticism (see particularly Feeney 2005: 232–236) which argued, correctly, that connecting and comparing this pre-literate tradition with the works of early Latin authors is problematic and full of pitfalls which have yet to be adequately dealt with.

²⁵ Cornell 1995b: 11–12, 217; Heurgon 1955: 56–64; Macaulay and Webb 1897.

²⁶ See Walsh 1996: 201–208 for a description of Livy's favorite dramatic devices.

²⁷ Heurgon 1955: 56–64.

²⁸ See Augustine's commentary on Varro's *Divine Antiquities* in book VI of the *City of God*, or the discussion in Wiseman 1995: 133.

that early Roman drama, performed without written texts, may have included historical plays,²⁹ a statement corroborated by Cicero's claim that theater performances were one of the primary means of dissemination for historical material in the late Republic, and that as early as the third century the genre of Roman historical drama was flourishing.³⁰ However, Livy suggested that drama was only introduced into Rome in 364,³¹ indicating that many of early Rome's most dramatic stories would have had to have originated in, and been transmitted through, an alternative oral tradition before they were adopted by the theater.³²

Another form of oral history present in republican Rome with which we are familiar are the tales and legends kept by individual Roman families, which traced their ancestry and recorded the deeds of their forbearers. These accounts were retold at funerals, and the anecdotes which they contained may have formed a crucial source for Rome's antiquarian authors.³³ Nevertheless, as these stories were kept and told by individual families for the purpose of self-promotion, their authenticity was called into question, even in antiquity, by many writers, including both Cicero and Livy.³⁴

Despite the ambiguous nature and dubious quality of each aspect of this early oral tradition, as a whole it seems to have presented a roughly homogenous account of early Rome when it reached the first Roman historians at the end of the third century.³⁵ While this may simply be the result of early Roman authors all choosing to write down one particular variation of events, it is more likely that all of the aspects of the oral tradition were governed by, or based on, a collective oral memory.³⁶ But while it is generally accepted that oral traditions are able to pass down

²⁹ Wiseman 1989: 136–137. ³⁰ Cic. *Leg.* 1.47.

³¹ Liv. 7.2. Cornell argued that this date may be too late (Cornell 1995b: 11).

³² See Flower 1995 for a discussion of the nature and role of *fabulae praetextae* (Roman historical drama) in republican Rome.

³³ Polybius gives a description of this funerary practice in Book 6 of his history (Polyb. 6.53.8–6.54.2).

³⁴ Cic. *Brut.* 62; Liv. 8.40.2. ³⁵ Oakley 1997: 22–23.

³⁶ Ungern-Sternberg and Reinau (1988: 245) argued that the wholesale invention of information is particularly unlikely due to the fact that the Roman elite would not let an author provide an authoritative account which did not agree with the collective understanding of the past. For an example of this “generally accepted oral memory” see Purcell’s description of the “Capitoline History,” which was a collection of traditions and myths attached to the Capitoline hill which went back to at least the middle of the fourth century (Purcell 2003: 26–33). Moving back further though, into the fifth and sixth centuries in particular, this type of argument becomes problematic as it is entirely uncertain whether a cohesive “Roman elite” existing to police the mythic or proto-historical tradition. Indeed, as Bietti Sestieri argued, the accounts of early Rome “cannot provide any dependable elements concerning the structure and organization of the Latial communities” (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 1), although she was likely referring to much earlier periods still.

pieces of information for generations without recourse to writing, transmission of an oral tradition can never be viewed in the same light as the verbatim recall of fixed texts found in literate readers.³⁷ Within most oral traditions it is sufficient to recall the general form and structural elements of the story and, far from being avoided, variability within the details is often promoted as it allows stories to be adapted to individual situations or developed into variants which are easier to remember.³⁸ Consequently, while certain stories and themes within Rome's oral tradition may have had their origins in Rome's earliest periods, and the overarching narrative of early Roman history seems to have been set by at least the third century, many of the details which are so crucial to modern historians may have been changed or adapted during the course of its transmission.³⁹

Language and ritual

Within a consideration of the oral tradition for early Rome, additional attention must be paid to the importance of the Latin language and its power, perceived or real, to retain certain archaic meanings, along with the wide range of unwritten codes which governed aspects of Roman religion, law, and socio-political relationships. These areas were utilized most heavily by Rome's antiquarian writers, of whom M. Terentius Varro (116–27) is perhaps the best known. Whatever their subject, antiquarians almost invariably investigated the meaning and origins of technical words, personal names, place names, archaic expressions, phrases and sayings, ritual formulae, legal terminology, etc.⁴⁰ The approach of historians, writing in the late Republic, to the work of the antiquarians is ambiguous and often problematic. Although it is likely that they had access to, and probably made use of the original research undertaken by the antiquarians, it is clear that they drew on them in a very different way from works written by earlier historians in that they tended to only utilize the final syntheses of the antiquarians, and avoided drawing directly from the bulk of their content.

³⁷ Rubin 1995: 6. As Wiseman noted, many of Rome's myths relating to the foundation of the Republic were "clearly independent and mutually inconsistent" and were therefore "what one expects in an oral tradition" (Wiseman 1998: 23).

³⁸ Wiseman 1998: 23.

³⁹ Oakley listed a collection of characteristics of the surviving accounts which indicate an origin in a possibly flawed oral tradition, most notably the conviction that Rome was always great and important and the association of later institutions with the regal period (Oakley 1997: 22). See Purcell 2003 for a detailed discussion of the issues involved in orality in the Roman context.

⁴⁰ Cornell and Lomas 1995: 18–19.

As a result, this body of knowledge, although still part of the oral tradition, represented a distinct and very important category within the larger oral corpus.⁴¹

The work of the antiquarians on the oral corpus was assisted, and in some cases compromised, by their tacit assumption that Roman institutions, technical language, and ritual remained essentially static from the moment of their creation until their demise.⁴² Due to the decidedly conservative nature of Roman culture, it is likely that many aspects of Roman culture had in fact been passed down, largely intact, from the archaic period, as demonstrated by the archaic character of many of Rome's religious practices and the existence of many vestigial offices and institutions.⁴³ However, this assumption also resulted in both creeping determinism and the occasional "false positive," where institutions or practices were assumed to be much older than they actually were based on their perceived archaic origins, or where later developments and changes to early institutions were not identified. Perhaps the most obvious example of this relates to Rome's often confusing collection of public assemblies. By the late Republic, Rome had a wide variety of assemblies which still met, including the *comitia centuriata*, *comitia tributa*, and the archaic *comitia curiata*. In their interpretation of these bodies, which seems to have been preserved in at least some of Rome's late republican historical works, the antiquarians seem to have allowed for a certain degree of political power shifting between the bodies as new ones were introduced, but clearly believed that the actual institutions had remained largely static since their inception – something which is highly unlikely given their complexity.⁴⁴ These problems in interpretation notwithstanding, the work of Rome's antiquarians helped to preserve many important facets of life and culture from the early and middle Republic which were part of Rome's rich oral tradition.

⁴¹ This is not to imply that antiquarians only delved into the oral evidence as, indeed, many of the most important contributions were in the study of various written documents. For instance, it was the antiquarians, and not the historians, who studied *The Twelve Tables* and observed that they might provide evidence of not only early Roman law, but early Roman social and cultural values. See *ibid.*: 24 for more discussion.

⁴² This assumption may have been related to their purpose for conducting antiquarian research. For instance, much of Cicero's antiquarian work was conducted as part of his search for legal precedents, which would have been rendered less valuable if the institutions and bodies he was discussing had changed substantially over the course of Rome's history.

⁴³ See Scullard 1981: 15–16 for discussion. ⁴⁴ See below (Chapter 3) for further discussion.

Native annalistic sources

In addition to the oral tradition, a collection of documents and archives existed in the middle and late Republic relating to early Rome, with some possibly dating back to the earliest days of the Republic. Of this collection, some of the most important were the *Annales Maximi* (the annals of the *pontifex maximus*), a chronicle kept by the high priest that recorded, year by year, important events in the life of the city.⁴⁵ These entries were traditionally written on *tabulae* and placed outside the house of the *pontifex maximus*, a practice which was eventually ended when P. Mucius Scaevola supposedly collected and published the existing *tabulae* (which had likely been preserved on wax tablets bound in *codices*)⁴⁶ in the late second century.⁴⁷ This record, which reportedly went back at least to the beginning of the Republic,⁴⁸ was cited by Cicero as an important reference for historians of early Rome. The *Annales*' structure, despite the typically cryptic nature of its content, was straightforward and chronological and is often used to explain the characteristic style of some of Rome's narrative accounts.⁴⁹ In addition to the *Annales*, the various *fasti*, which listed things

⁴⁵ For a detailed study of the process of pontifical record keeping, as described in the sources, see Frier 1999: 83–106; 161–178. See also *FRHist* 1.141–159.

⁴⁶ *FRHist* 1.147.

⁴⁷ Frier convincingly argued against the myth that Scaevola published the *Annales Maximi* (see Frier 1999: 83–106; 161–178). Indeed, Frier argued that, despite its presumed importance for early Roman historians, most of the information about the nature of the *Annales Maximi*, as supposedly published by P. Mucius Scaevola and found in sources ranging from Macrobius to Servius, stemmed from only two writers: Cicero and M. Verrius Flaccus. However, his argument that the *Annales* were not consulted directly by the end of the Augustan period, and that the eighty-book chronicle may have been an Augustan work, is largely unconvincing given the unanimous testimony of the ancient sources that it was in existence from the beginning of the first century (*ibid.*: 179–200).

⁴⁸ Scholars are relatively confident about the reliability of the entries from the third century onwards; however, the earlier entries are often seen as more problematic. Ogilvie argued for records extending through the fifth century (Ogilvie 1965: 6), while Walsh opined that detailed records were only kept from the year 300 onward (Walsh 1996: 111). Plutarch cast doubt on the early documentary tradition by stating that “a certain Clodius, in a book entitled ‘An Examination of Chronology,’ insisted that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls, and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear” (Plut. *Num.* 1). However, as this is the first and only evidence for this forging of the early documentary tradition, the argument is unconvincing. See below (Chapter 6) for additional discussion of Rome's post-390 historiographical tradition. The most important piece of evidence in this argument is the record of an eclipse in the *Annales* which Cicero claims (Cic. *De Rep.* 1.25) was in the 350th year after the foundation of the city (this is commonly thought to be the eclipse on 21 June 400, see *FRHist* 1.149). This hints that at least some of the records went back to this period, and so predate the Gallic sack of the city in 390.

⁴⁹ Cic. *De Or.* 2.52. Frier presented a much more nuanced reading of this passage which argued that Cicero was only offering a possible explanation for the style of the early Roman historians, not solidly identifying it as a source for their work (Frier 1979: 81). Furthermore, McDonald argued that,

like the magistrates and triumphs for each year and also seem to have gone back to the beginning of the Republic,⁵⁰ would have been available to early Roman historians.⁵¹

Joining these two prominent types of annalistic evidence were other documents and archives present in republican Rome. For instance, many of the priestly colleges kept their own archives. Consular and censorial families kept records from their terms in office.⁵² The plebeians maintained an archive in the temple of Ceres.⁵³ In addition, there were the (admittedly problematic and indeed possibly invented) *libri lintei*, which were kept in the temple of Juno Moneta and contained magistrate lists, along with the laws of *The Twelve Tables*, and other laws, treaties, inscriptions, census lists, and assorted documentary evidence which related to the regal and early-republican periods, the records of which seem to have survived until our surviving authors' own time.⁵⁴ Certain aspects of this evidence may have been relatively inaccessible,⁵⁵ and the documents themselves were often seen as being long and tedious, because of which they were subjected to scathing criticism by later writers.⁵⁶ However, these archives and records were the only pieces of evidence which could be described as "primary

while the style of the writing in the later annalistic histories may have been derived by the style of the *Annales*, this did not mean that the content was also entirely dependent on it (McDonald 1957: 155–156). While this style is most evident in Livy (Livy's history being the most complete), it was also clearly attested in earlier annalistic narrative accounts (Frier 1999: 271). Frier argued that it originated with Fabius Pictor (*ibid.*: 271), while McDonald advocated a post-"Scaevolan" date (McDonald 1957: 155).

⁵⁰ This assumed the existence of two consuls in the early Republic; a fact which has rightly been questioned in recent years. However, it should be noted that there are only a few discrepancies in the consular record for the late sixth and fifth centuries (Frier 1975: 83–85), and there is, as Oakley noted, a "remarkable unanimity of our sources which vouches for the fundamental authenticity of the list" (Oakley 1997: 39–40).

⁵¹ The accessibility of all of the documentary evidence is still not entirely known. The *Fasti*, treaties, and other documentary evidence which was publicly inscribed would have been available to anyone writing in Rome, and it is evident from fragments of Cato's *Origines* (77 P) that the *Annales Maximi* were available, at least to members of the Roman elite, even before their publication in the late second century. However, Culham argued that many of the other archival sources, most notably those kept in the *Aerarium* and *Tabularium*, would have been relatively inaccessible to any but the most dedicated researchers (Culham 1989: 100–115).

⁵² Once again, it is uncertain how accessible these types of records were. See *ibid.* for a more detailed discussion.

⁵³ This differentiation between various types of official archives (e.g. plebeian, senatorial, etc.), may have simply been administrative/political. However, there may have been some social bias present in the documents collected in each archive. Unfortunately, as none of the records survive from these archives, this theory cannot be substantiated.

⁵⁴ For instance, the treaty between Carthage and Rome which Polybius dated to 509 and claimed to have seen (Polybius 3.22), and there was a permanent record of every *senatus consulta* from the third century onwards, which were deposited in the Treasury (Walsh 1996: 112).

⁵⁵ Culham 1989: 100–115.

⁵⁶ Gell. *NA* 5.18.8; Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.5; see Frier 1979: 137 for a more general discussion of criticism.

sources” for early Rome and consequently they provided part of a scant but comparatively reliable backbone of information for later historians writing about the period – although it is impossible to determine with any certainty which individual facets of the narrative are of authentic, archival origin.⁵⁷

Of this vast collection of documentary evidence, the *Fasti Capitolini Consulares*, a copy of which was discovered in the sixteenth century AD, the *Fasti Capitolini Triumphales*, and the fragmentary laws of *The Twelve Tables* are some of the few examples which survive today in relatively complete form.⁵⁸ The rest of this early annalistic tradition is identifiable only in general trends in Roman historiography, and only a small amount of direct textual evidence, including scattered fragments recorded in later works and assorted references and descriptions, survives.⁵⁹

The early Greek historians

Early Roman historians would also have had access to a collection of histories which discussed central Italy and Rome which were written by non-Romans. Although the Romans did not write narrative histories of the city themselves until the end of the third century, other societies in central Italy did, most notably the Campanians.⁶⁰ While these foreign histories are no longer extant and, from the fragmentary evidence available for them found in the works of later authors, were obviously not exclusively dedicated to the history of Rome, it is evident that they touched on the early history of the city and were used by later Roman writers to fill out the history of the

⁵⁷ Frier argued convincingly that this “backbone” or “core” of information needed to include a much wider range of information than just the *Annales Maximi* in order to be reliable, citing our scant knowledge of the *Annales Maximi* and the possibility of hindsight, rationalization, and creeping determinism in the discussions and descriptions of it as a source (Frier 1999: v–xix). As a result, the present study follows Oakley’s model (Oakley 1997: 24–27), where the “core” of evidence is dependent upon a much wider collection of documentary evidence (including magistrate lists, priestly lists, triumphs, etc.). However, it must still be recognized that the reliability of the annalistic evidence, even in antiquity, was still somewhat questionable, as Livy noted that “one is involved in so many uncertainties regarding dates by varying order of the magistrates in different lists that it is impossible to make out which consuls followed which, or what was done in each particular year, when not only events but even authorities are so shrouded in antiquity” (Liv. 2.21), indicating that the annalistic records did not always match up neatly. See *FRHist* 1.157 for further discussion.

⁵⁸ The full recorded list of magistrates for the Republic, assembled in Broughton’s *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (MRR), was derived from these two surviving *Fasti*, Livy, Diodorus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. See also Frier 1979: 144 for discussion of sources.

⁵⁹ For instance see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.74.3; Vopisc. *vit. Tacit.* 1.1; Cic. *Rep.* 1.16.25; Gell. *NA* 4.5. For a complete listing see Peter 1914 and more recently *FRHist*.

⁶⁰ Cornell 1974: 199.

earlier periods, particularly with regard to the Samnite wars.⁶¹ Furthermore, despite the fact that Rome was not a major Mediterranean power until the end of the fourth century, by the sixth century she had become a powerful city in central Italy and had thereby come to the notice of other literate societies, most notably the Greek city-states in Magna Graecia and Sicily. The earliest mentions of Rome in Greek histories were in the fifth century in the works of Antiochus of Syracuse, Hellanicus of Lesbos, and Damastes of Sigeum, who discussed the origins of Rome,⁶² albeit in the context of western Greek history and myth.⁶³

By the early fourth century Greek historians were studying Rome with a renewed interest as Rome's expanding power began to impact the political and economic interests of Greek cities in southern Italy and Sicily, and Roman history began to have very real and substantial political implications.⁶⁴ However, the coverage of Roman history by Greek historians remained focused on Rome's origins and her possible connections to the Greek world which, as Gabba noted, may have been part of an attempt to "assuage [Greek] doubts and preconceptions regarding the status of the new and powerful neighbor."⁶⁵ This pattern continued into the third century, as both Hieronymus of Cardia (d. c. 250) and Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 356–c. 260) wrote histories of the Pyrrhic War (280–275), in which they introduced the Romans to their Greek audience by discussing the possible origins of their city.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding this extremely limited and hellenocentric coverage, these early Greek accounts of Rome's history provided details about Rome's foundation which could fill out Rome's sparse, native annalistic accounts and were therefore used extensively by later Latin writers.⁶⁷ However, these histories were criticized, even in antiquity, for their over-emphasis on "dreams, prodigies and . . . womanish love of strange events,"⁶⁸ which, when combined with their presumed lack of firsthand knowledge and penchant for mythical figures, indicated that information

⁶¹ Cornell argued for the presence and use of local Campanian histories in the Roman annalistic tradition of the second century (*ibid.*).

⁶² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2.

⁶³ These early Greek works focused primarily on possible connections between the founding of Rome and the wanderings of Aeneas and Odysseus, beginning the tradition of assigning Greek influence to Rome's foundation (Cornell 1995b: 64). Hellanicus of Lesbos attached the figure of Odysseus to the foundation of Rome, possibly in reference to the Hesiodic reference to Odysseus on the coasts of Latium (Hesiod *Theo.* 1011–16). See Gabba 1991: 12–13.

⁶⁴ Cornell 1995b: 7. ⁶⁵ Gabba 1991: 13. ⁶⁶ Cornell 1995b: 8. ⁶⁷ Badian 1966: 2–3.

⁶⁸ Polybius 12.24.5 (trans. Walsh 1996: 24). Although it should also be noted that authors like Polybius had ulterior motives in criticizing these earlier works, most notably to set their own works apart as different (and better).

contained in the works may have been somewhat unreliable.⁶⁹ Several fragments from these early histories survive today as referenced passages found in the works of later historians. Portions of both Hieronymus of Cardia's and Timaeus of Tauromenium's histories have been identified in the works of authors like Diodorus Siculus (wrote c. 60–30),⁷⁰ Plutarch (c. AD 46–120),⁷¹ and Polybius (c. 210–131).⁷² Timaeus has over 200 surviving references, being much better preserved than Hieronymus, who is preserved in only thirty-one referenced passages.⁷³

Later writers and the transmission of information

Narrative historical writing was a relatively late development in Rome and only began in the late third century.⁷⁴ Starting with Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus, followed by the poet Quintus Ennius, M. Porcius Cato, Cn. Gellius, and L. Calpurnius Frugi in the second century, and Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Licinius Macer in the early first century, native narrative histories of Rome, from her foundation to then modern times, appeared in quick succession.⁷⁵ Rome's first native historian was Q. Fabius Pictor, a Roman aristocrat (and likely hellenophile given his choice of written language, Greek, and genre),⁷⁶ who wrote in the second half of the third century.⁷⁷ From references to his history in later works we can deduce that it dealt at length with Rome's origins and followed closely the

⁶⁹ Timaeus of Tauromenium did supposedly visit Rome, along with Lavinium, and mentioned a number of local aspects including the October Horse. See Pais 2014: 167.

⁷⁰ Hieronymus of Cardia has been identified in Diod. Sic. 18.42.1, 18.50.4, 19.44.3, 19.100.1–3, and Timaeus of Tauromenium in Diod. Sic. 16.7.1, 21.17.1, 21.17.3, 5.1.3.

⁷¹ Hieronymus of Cardia has been identified in Plut. *Demetr.* 39.3–7, and Timaeus of Tauromenium in Plut. *De exil.* 14; *Nik.* 1.

⁷² Timaeus of Tauromenium in Polyb. 1.5.1, 12.26, 12.11, 12.3.

⁷³ For a full listing of the identified fragments for both Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus of Tauromenium see Jacoby 1923–1968: IIB 829–835, III 581–658.

⁷⁴ Although it is impossible to know the purpose of the first Roman historians, Badian argued plausibly that Polybius' aim, to try to explain Roman history and institutions to a Greek audience, may also apply to the first Roman historians, as Rome was beginning to take a serious interest in the Greek world at this time and the first two Roman historians both wrote in Greek and in the Hellenistic tradition (Badian 1966: 3). See also "Fabius Pictor and the Origins of National History" in Momigliano 1990. Also, it is worth noting that some scholars have argued that these writers were not the first native Roman historians, but that they were preceded by now lost Roman historical writers like Appius Claudius, Cn. Flavius and others. See particularly Pais 1898: i.2.670.

⁷⁵ See Chassignet 1996 and Beck and Walter 2001 for discussion and bibliography.

⁷⁶ This may have been partly due to a family tradition of diplomacy in the Greek East (Beck and Walter 2001: 57).

⁷⁷ Although writing in Greek, it is clear from the content that Fabius Pictor's audience (or at least some of it) was made up of the Roman aristocracy (Beck 2003: 73–92). Additionally, there is a continued debate as to whether the fragments which are commonly ascribed to Fabius Pictor are actually

Greek tradition of associating figures from Greek mythology with Rome's foundation.⁷⁸ Although the exact nature of the history's content is unclear, it is evident that it at least touched on both Rome's early military activity⁷⁹ and her early political organization,⁸⁰ as it was often used as a reference for information on these topics by later authors. With regard to scope, citations in the histories of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus indicate that Pictor's work covered at least the late regal period and first three decades of the Republic in relative detail.⁸¹ There is a large gap between the last of these citations, relating to the early fifth century, and the next associated passage, which related to the late fourth century, implying that Pictor may have covered the period between c. 480 and c. 330 in slightly less detail.⁸² As the events he recorded neared his own time, it is evident that Pictor's scope and detail expanded, since the later sections of his history seem to have been a detailed account of the first Punic War.⁸³ As a result, Pictor's history is often argued to have assumed an "hourglass" shape,⁸⁴ which is assumed to have been dictated by the nature of his sources for each period, and which some have argued formed the basic mold for all later Roman historians.⁸⁵ Although it should be noted that, despite the widely accepted nature of this model, a few reservations have rightly been raised – in particular that there is no direct evidence that Fabius Pictor's history

authentic. See Poucet 1976 and Verbrugghe 1981 for contrasting views on this debate. See also *FRHist* 1.160–178 for detailed discussion.

⁷⁸ Cic. *Div.* 1.21.43; Sybcellus *Dind.* p. 366; Mar. Victor. *Art. Gram.* I p.23; Plut. *Rom.* 3

⁷⁹ War with the Sabines (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.38; Plut. *Rom.* 14); Latin wars (Cic. *de div.* 1.26.55; Dion Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 7.71); Samnite Wars (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 8.30; Liv. 10.37).

⁸⁰ "Servian" tribes (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.15.1; Liv. 1.44.2).

⁸¹ Liv. 1.53.2; 1.55.7; 2.40.10 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.6.1; 4.30; 7.71.1 show that Fabius Pictor covered the covered the late regal and early republican periods in relative detail, although there is a large gap of over 150 years in the narrative between these fragments and the next associated section (Liv. 8.30.1). While this could be the result of authors choosing to ignore Fabius Pictor's account for the fifth and fourth centuries, it is more likely that later authors used other sources for this period, although whether this was a stylistic choice or one of necessity is still up for debate.

⁸² The next associated passage is Liv. 8.30, which dealt with Quintus Fabius' command of an incursion into Samnium in 325 (Peter 1914: 33).

⁸³ Badian 1966: 3; Polyb. 1.14.1; 1.58.2; 3.8.1.

⁸⁴ This "hourglass shape" refers to the amount of information in each section of the history: a large section on Rome's origins and early years, a smaller section in the middle relating the history of Rome during the fifth and early fourth centuries, and a larger section dealing with the events of the third century and onwards. See *FRHist* 1.171 for discussion.

⁸⁵ Badian 1966: 3. It should be noted, however, that although Badian's position still represents the standard line on the subject, the foundation of this argument is far from secure, as the evidence for the organization and content of Fabius' work is extremely scarce. Indeed, it is likely that the forthcoming collection of the fragments of Rome's early historians will serve to help refute this position.

followed this model, and that the fragments which survive are likely not a representative selection of the original work.⁸⁶

A prominent politician and priest from an old and distinguished patrician family, Q. Fabius Pictor was a quintessential Roman “insider” and would likely have had access to all of Rome’s native sources on her early history through one connection or another.⁸⁷ Pictor’s familiarity with the existing Greek sources is confirmed by the style and manner in which he wrote. Although he was the first native historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor did not write in a world devoid of historiographical precedent, theory, or structure. Indeed, the situation was very much the opposite, as Greek historiography was by this time a highly developed form of literary expression. It is evident from the style of Fabius Pictor’s history, and even his choice to use Greek instead of Latin, that he saw his work as being within the existing corpus of Greek historiography, as opposed to being a completely original undertaking.⁸⁸ Despite his obvious attempt to write within the existing literary structure, Fabius Pictor’s history was an original and ambitious undertaking in that it attempted to combine two distinct types of writing: the moralizing, topic-based genre of Hellenistic history, and Rome’s strictly chronological, annalistic tradition.⁸⁹ Although an undoubtedly influential work,⁹⁰ only fragments of Fabius Pictor’s history survive today, preserved in the histories of later writers.⁹¹ Most notably, it has been argued, based on references found in the text to Pictor’s work, that several chapters of Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ (wrote c. 30–8) *Roman Antiquities* were based largely on Fabius Pictor’s work, as were sections of Plutarch *Life of Romulus*, and Livy’s (59–AD 17) *Ab Urbe Condita*.⁹² However, it should also be noted that historical works in both Greek and Latin seem to have circulated under the name of “Fabius Pictor,” and that

⁸⁶ See *FRHist* 1.171–172 for detailed discussion. ⁸⁷ *Ibid* 1.161–163, 176–178.

⁸⁸ Badian 1966: 2–7.

⁸⁹ This combining of two traditions can be clearly seen in the dating system which Fabius Pictor used, in which he not only gave the consuls for each year but also Olympiad dating (Badian 1966: 3). Most notably Cicero labeled Pictor’s style “*Graeci annales*” (Cic. *Div.* 1.43).

⁹⁰ See Purcell 2003 for a detailed discussion of Fabius Pictor’s place in the early historiography of Rome.

⁹¹ Alföldi argued, largely unconvincingly, that this influence exerted by Fabius Pictor’s history may have been detrimental to Roman history because, he suggested, Fabius Pictor began the “projection of the Roman conquest of middle Italy back into Dark Ages” and rewrote Roman history into a “canonical account of the rise of Rome” with “continuous victories and no setbacks since Romulus” (Alföldi 1965: 123–175). However, while Fabius Pictor’s narrative may have contained a certain amount of pro-Roman bias, Alföldi’s argument that the entire narrative was a fabrication is both unnecessary and largely unsubstantiated.

⁹² See Peter 1914: 5–39 for a complete listing of references and portions of text commonly attributed to Fabius Pictor.

many of the citations commonly attributed to him refer simply to work of a “Fabius,” making any definite attributions difficult.⁹³

As noted above, once Pictor’s work was published, c. 200, other writers quickly followed in his footsteps.⁹⁴ L. Cincius Alimentus, a contemporary of Pictor, wrote a history of Rome in Greek published after Fabius Pictor’s and, from the limited references to his work found in later histories, it seems to have followed the model set by Pictor in both style and content,⁹⁵ and the two works were often compared.⁹⁶ Both C. Acilius and A. Postumius Albinus wrote histories of Rome in Greek in the middle of the second century which also seem to have followed the account of Fabius Pictor, and presumably Cincius Alimentus, for their early history,⁹⁷ although the majority of the surviving references discuss their treatment of the second Punic War.⁹⁸

Quintus Ennius (239–c. 169) was the first Roman to write a narrative of Rome’s history in Latin in the early second century, albeit in verse. Although not technically a historian, the title of Ennius’ epic, the *Annales*, suggested that he saw his work as part of Rome’s native historical tradition.⁹⁹ While the text of his poem only survives today in fragments, the content and position of the fragments within the work support the poem’s place in the corpus of Roman history because they seem to coincide closely with the model and content found in the earlier histories of Fabius Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, and C. Acilius.¹⁰⁰

Ennius’ work was followed by the *Origines* of M. Porcius Cato (234–149), the first narrative of Rome’s history written in Latin prose.¹⁰¹ Possibly following the same suggested “hourglass” shape of earlier histories, Cato’s “history”¹⁰² consisted of seven books, of which (as summarized by Nepos)

⁹³ See *FRHist* 1.164–166 for discussion of these issues.

⁹⁴ The exact dates for the composition and publication of Fabius Pictor’s work are unknown, although his evident account of the events of 216 provides a *terminus post quem* (*FRHist* 1.167).

⁹⁵ There were only two recorded differences between their accounts. Dionysius recorded that Cincius and Fabius Pictor listed different years for the foundation of Carthage (1.74.1) and hinted that Cincius’ version of the events of 439 may have differed as well (12.4.2–5). In addition, it is evident that Cincius’ history went down to the second Punic War, where he reported that he was captured by Hannibal who spoke to him personally (Liv. 21.38.2).

⁹⁶ Specifically in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79; 2.38. See *FRHist* 1. 179–183.

⁹⁷ Strab. 5.3.3; Plut. *Rom.* 21. ⁹⁸ Cic. *de off.* 3.32.113; Liv. 25.39.11; 35.14.1.

⁹⁹ See Gildenhard 2003 for a discussion of the complexities of this title.

¹⁰⁰ The fragments which survive are from Book 1, which seemed to have covered the life of Romulus, and Books 6–11, 17, and 18, which covered the period from the Pyrrhic War (beginning 280) to the early second century.

¹⁰¹ See *FRHist* 1.191–218 for detailed discussion.

¹⁰² Cato’s *Origines* was not a history in the modern sense of the word, but rather a collection of anecdotes and *fabulae* touching on various aspects of Roman, Latin, and Italian origins and

the first three were devoted to the origins and early history of Rome and the cities of Italy, book 4 covered the First Punic War and the period down to 216, book 5 covered the Hannibalic War, and books 6 and 7 took the work down to a few months before Cato's own death in 149.¹⁰³ Although written in Latin, Cato's history was also clearly in the Greek tradition as indicated in his choice of title (possibly meant to translate the Greek *ktiseis*) and in his topical, as opposed to strictly chronological, style.¹⁰⁴

L. Cassius Hemina (wrote c. 146) was the next historian to write a history of early Rome.¹⁰⁵ Considered by some to be a "more serious historian" than C. Acilius or A. Postumius Albinus,¹⁰⁶ his restrained prose appealed to writers like Pliny the Elder, A. Gellius, and the grammarians.¹⁰⁷ His content remained firmly within the established grounds of Roman historiography, with book 1 covering early Italian times, book 2 covering the regal period and much of the Republic, book 3 is unaccounted for, but book 4 seems to have dealt with the second Punic War, and a hypothetical book 5 may have taken events down to the author's own day.¹⁰⁸ Hemina's work is known to have contained a number of interesting anecdotes, including the origin of the *Penates* and Mucius Scaevola's attempt to assassinate Porsenna, along with aspects of the more traditional narrative like the reign of various *reges*, the decemvirate, and the Gallic sack.¹⁰⁹

Cn. Gellius and L. Calpurnius Piso "Frugi" both wrote during the second half of the second century and continued the development of Rome's historiography. Both authors wrote histories of Rome from its origins until their own day and seem to have used the same basic underlying structure and content as previous histories.¹¹⁰ However, Cn. Gellius' work seemed to have mysteriously "filled out" the accounts of periods which had been very sparse in previous works.¹¹¹ This has led many modern scholars to assume that Gellius probably did not have legitimate sources for much of his information and that he was using, to quote Badian, the "full freedom that Hellenistic historians allowed themselves of inventing the

etymologies which seems to have been organized roughly chronologically. Although his work was often used by later historians, this marked difference in genre means that his work is often hard to reconstruct.

¹⁰³ Badian 1966: 7. ¹⁰⁴ Astin 1978: 228. ¹⁰⁵ *FRHist* 1.219–223. ¹⁰⁶ Frier 1979: 208.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 209.

¹⁰⁸ Rawson 1976: 690. For a full list of associated fragments see Peter 1914: 98–111. See also Santini 1995 for discussion.

¹⁰⁹ *FRHist* 1.221. ¹¹⁰ For a full list of associated fragments see Peter 1914: 148–157.

¹¹¹ He reached the rape of the Sabine women in book 2, the year 389 in book 15 and the year 216 in book 33 (or 30).

verisimilar to eke out the meager truth.”¹¹² L. Calpurnius Piso’s history took a different approach and, using a simple style and a much more conservative interpretation of the information presented in previous histories, harkened back to Rome’s native annalistic tradition and focused on Roman virtue.¹¹³ This was likely in response to the perceived decline in Roman *mores* in the late second century since its supposed peak in the early Republic.

The late second century saw the emergence of the Gracchi into Roman politics and the impact which this had on the Roman view of their own history and past cannot be overstated. One of the earliest histories of Rome written during this period was by C. Fannius, who was at one point a friend of C. Gracchus, but who went over to the “Optimates” after his consulship of 122.¹¹⁴ The fragments of his history which survive indicate that, following the established model for Roman histories, it treated the period from the foundation of Rome to Fannius’ own day. However, it is evident that the work, and particularly the portion which described the second century, was full of speeches and inclusions motivated by the political situation of the Gracchan and post-Gracchan eras.¹¹⁵ The late second century also saw the publication of L. Coelius Antipater’s history of the Hannibalic war. Although this work did not directly deal with the time period covered in this study, his detailed account of the war had profound implications for Roman historiography and he was the first of a class of writers considered “serious” Roman historians by modern scholars.¹¹⁶

The early first century saw a series of histories produced by authors who are now often referred to as “the later annalists.” Consisting of Valerius Antias, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, Licinius Macer, and Aelius Tubero, this group all built upon the existing corpus of historical literature relating to early Rome and followed closely the then established traditional model and content for Roman histories – particularly that set by writers like Antipater. Their work has now been all but forgotten, the majority of it having been subsumed within the histories of later writers, particularly that of Livy.¹¹⁷ One of the most noteworthy of these early first century writers was a

¹¹² Badian 1966: 12. For a more detailed discussion of this “expansion of the past” see Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 77–104.

¹¹³ See Forsythe 1994 for full discussion.

¹¹⁴ Badian 1966: 14. The topic of C. Fannius and his political interactions is tremendously complicated and is, unfortunately, well beyond the aim and scope of this work. See Walter and Beck 2001: 340–346 for more information on C. Fannius’ history.

¹¹⁵ See Peter 1914, C. Fannius (fr. 4 and fr. 5). For the intrusion of contemporary politics into histories of Rome see Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 77–104.

¹¹⁶ Badian 1966: 17. ¹¹⁷ See particularly Ogilvie 1965 and Oakley 1997 on the topic.

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, whose work was utilized heavily by later writers despite his apparent motivation to entertain, rather than to convey moral or political principles, as was common in both earlier and later works.¹¹⁸

Finally, the works of the influential antiquarian M. Terentius Varro (116–27) must also have had an impact on the writings of later authors.¹¹⁹ His works, including the *De lingua Latina libri XXV* (c. 43), of which books 5–10 are partly extant (only 5 and 6 entirely), and the lost *Antiquitatem rerum humanarum et divinarum libri XLI* (c. 47), would have provided for a later authors a wealth of information on the origins of various Roman religious, political, and military institutions.¹²⁰ However, the technical weakness inherent in such works meant that antiquarianism may have accounted for some of the most dubious portions of the surviving sources.¹²¹

Although many of the original sources for early Rome described above (the oral tradition, native annalistic evidence, and early Greek histories) may have still been in existence in the first century (and, indeed, in the case of the *Annales Maximi*, in what seems to have been a well-organized form), our surviving sources seem to have relied, almost exclusively, on the work of other late Republican writers for their evidence. This was due in no small part to the purpose and motivation behind many of the surviving literary works from the late Republic. For both the epic poet and the historian, the purpose was not necessarily to uncover new information about the past, but to present it in a new way which illustrated the writer's chosen point, be it moral, philosophical, or political. Only the antiquarians continued to mine for new information in the early material, and even here the work of Varro seems to have gradually overtaken the original sources as the ultimate repository of archaic knowledge.¹²²

Methodology for the literary evidence

Any methodology which attempts to deal with the literary evidence for early Rome will always represent a compromise, where varying degrees of

¹¹⁸ Walsh 1996: 115.

¹¹⁹ Oakley argued that Livy seemed to have taken most of his information from the annalistic sources, although he did admit that some information must have been derived from antiquarian sources, and most notably Varro (Oakley 1997: 16).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*: 33.

¹²¹ See the stories of Mucius Scaevola (Liv. 2.12.1–13), Aius Locutius (Liv. 5.50.5), and Valerius Corvus (Liv. 7.25.3–26) for examples. See also Oakley 1997: 33.

¹²² It should be noted that much of the antiquarian work involving etymologies probably required no sources, but simply words and a (vivid) imagination. Indeed, for modern purposes, the work of Verrius Flaccus is perhaps more important than that of Varro.

detail are weighed against varying degrees of skepticism, with the ultimate goal being that perfect balance where the vast majority of anachronisms have been discarded but where a sufficient amount of detail has been accepted in order to permit the creation of a viable (and useful) model. The methodology which will be adopted for the literary evidence in the present study is based on two basic principles. The first is that the amount of reliable information within the literary evidence cannot exceed the amount of information which could have been reliably transmitted from early Rome to the late Republic. While the exact sources used by each author are unknown, the variety and scope of the sources dealing with early Rome which could have been available during the late Republic can be posited with a certain degree of confidence, based on the analysis of sources above. Consequently, assuming that each writer took full advantage of the sources available to him, a maximum amount of raw, historical data which could have been contained in the sources can be hypothesized.¹²³ The second principle is that, despite their many influences and possible faults, the present study assumes that neither the writers of the existing sources for early Rome, nor their sources, set out to intentionally lie to or mislead the reader. While this does not mean that authors did not embellish certain points or emphasize certain aspects of the historical narrative for their own purposes, be they historical, rhetorical, or philosophical, it does mean that they did this within a certain intellectual framework where history was used to illustrate points as opposed to being manipulated to create them.¹²⁴

The approach to the literary evidence will therefore be as follows. The cryptic documentary evidence, consisting of chronological lists of the magistrates, wars, treaties, and important events of each year, in addition to the collections of laws passed, treaties ratified, and other documents

¹²³ This general approach to the literary sources is still controversial. While it has been supported by scholars like Cornell, who argued that “our historical sources do depend ultimately on a hard core of authentic data . . . [and] the task of the modern historian is to extract this core and make sense of it” (Cornell 1995b: 18), and Oakley, who had “confidence that there is a substantial core of reliable factual evidence in Livy’s narrative” (Oakley 1997: 27), some, like Frier, argued that the sources “contain no ‘hard core’ of reliable extractable data, but only information of widely varying quality that needs to be judged on a case by case basis” (Frier 1999: ix). However, Frier’s argument was based primarily on the understanding that this “core” of evidence to be extracted is based almost entirely on the *Annales Maximi*. The approach used in the present study will therefore focus on a combination of sources, including magistrate lists, legal documents, etc., as the possible sources of information; an approach which Frier himself admitted was “sounder and more profitable than older, more dogmatic approaches” (Frier 1999: x).

¹²⁴ This approach represents a more conservative version of that adopted by Cornell (1995b, 2005), and follows, to a certain extent, the methodology laid out by Forsythe (2005). However, it should be noted that the present study does not arrive at the same conclusions as Forsythe.

relating to various periods from Rome's history, seems to have been transmitted relatively intact.¹²⁵ Although the information it provided was often scant or ambiguous, the origins of the annalistic tradition in the early Republic (at least as far back as 390/387, and probably earlier) and the consistency within the structure of the narrative suggests that very little changed during the course of its transmission during the late third, second, and early first centuries.¹²⁶ This is evidenced by the presence of magistracies, like the consular tribunes, which had no late republican comparanda and also the remarkable similarity between the accounts of Livy, who utilized a variety of later Latin sources, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who seems to have utilized a range of earlier works in Greek. However, while the basic information contained in the annalistic records seems to have been retained, it was also subject to embellishment, explanation, and possibly correction, as both Rome's historians and antiquarians struggled to place early events and institutions in a context which would have made sense to a late republican audience. Consequently, the present study accepts the basic structure of the annalistic record, while also recognizing that certain aspects of this record (for instance, the specific dating of many events or the existence of the consulship, in its late republican form, in the fifth century) were likely to represent late republican interpretations and interpolations.

Given what is known about the sources for the more narrative aspects of the history of Rome down to the early fourth century, the situation is much more problematic. The vast majority of the information from early Rome itself was likely to have originated in Rome's oral tradition and, even given optimum conditions, it is impossible for information of this

¹²⁵ A fragment of Sempronius Asellio, quoted by Aulus Gellius, provided a good description of the nature of these sources: "Annals simply reported what happened and in what year it occurred, just like those who kept a diary which the Greeks call *ἐφημερίς*. I personally do not think it enough to declare what has happened, but to demonstrate as well by what design and for what reason things have occurred . . . Annales cannot to any extent arouse men to be more eager to defend the state or more hesitant to do wrong. To write in what consulship a war began and ended, who entered the city in triumph from the war, and what occurred in the war without also declaring what the senate decreed or what legislation was passed or by what designs things occurred, is childish storytelling and does not constitute history" (Gell. *NA* 5.18.8–9, trans. Forsythe 1994: 40–41).

¹²⁶ As noted above, the best evidence for the records extending back into the fifth century is the eclipse which Cicero reports occurred c. 350 AUC (Cic. *De Rep.* 1.25), the record of which preserved in the *Annales Maximi*. Modern scholars have debated which eclipse this refers to, with the eclipses of 20 March 405, 21 June 400, and 12 June 391 all being candidates (the uncertainty being due to the complexities and changing nature of the Roman calendar, for instance after 304 and the adjustments made by the aedile Cn. Flavius), but the existence of the report (supplemented by asides from works like Cato's *Origines* (Cato *Orig.* 4.1), that this is exactly the sort of material which the *Annales* contained) suggests that some annalistic records went back to this period.

quantity and detail to have been transmitted from the archaic period to Rome's first historians without experiencing a high level of adaptation and anachronistic invention. This narrative was likely to have been supplemented by the early Greek histories of Rome, which would have introduced an entirely different set of assumptions, anachronisms, and biases. Finally, once this narrative was in the hands of Rome's later Latin annalists, it was likely to have undergone even further changes, as this narrative information is the most conducive for both embellishment and reworking to illustrate a certain point. As a result, the vast majority of the information contained in the more narrative sections is likely the product of the mid to late Republic. However, as evidenced in other oral traditions, it is possible that certain core aspects of the narrative may have been maintained in Rome's oral tradition, while various details and specifics were adapted to changing times. Therefore, while much of the superficial detail of the narrative evidence will be discarded as anachronistic, the core principles and themes which underlie it (and particularly those which would have been unfamiliar to writers working in the mid to late Republic) can be extracted to form an identifiable metanarrative which can then be examined for possible clues as to the nature of early Roman warfare and society.¹²⁷ A key practice in this extraction will be filtering the existing narrative to remove any aspects which would have been familiar to a late republican audience and examining the remaining pieces of information as possible archaic survivals. The aspects of the narrative which would have been familiar to a late republican audience will naturally not be discarded wholesale, but will be treated with a bit more skepticism as likely anachronistic material.

The archaeological evidence

While the field of archaeology has contributed significantly to our expanding knowledge of early Rome in recent years,¹²⁸ this resource has been left largely untapped by historians studying the early Roman army.¹²⁹ Apart

¹²⁷ See Cornell 1983: 102 for a more detailed discussion of identifiable themes and principles underlying the literary evidence for early Rome. While the present study does accept that these exist, it is not as optimistic as Cornell in how many survive.

¹²⁸ See particularly Holloway 1994, Cornell 1995b, Smith 1996, and Carandini 1997.

¹²⁹ This general trend was evident throughout the twentieth century AD from McCartney 1915–1916: 121 to more recent works by Keppie 1998: 14–19 and Goldsworthy 2003. Thankfully, this has begun to change as scholars (for example, Burns 2003 and Burns 2005) have used archaeology to great effect in arguments relating to early Italian warfare. However, these studies still represent the exception rather than the rule.

from the haphazard use of military equipment finds and tomb paintings to illustrate various points, Roman military studies have largely started their examinations of the archaeology of Roman warfare in the third and second centuries, leaving the earlier period unexplored.¹³⁰ There are several possible reasons for this, not least of which is the distinct lack of evidence recovered that can be directly applied to military activity, and the dearth of evidence for the fifth and early fourth centuries more generally.¹³¹ It is also likely that some traditional prejudices against archaeology within the scholarly community may have played a role,¹³² something which is perhaps best typified by Rawson's comment, in her analysis of the usefulness of archaeology in the study of the pre-Marian Army, that "archaeology does not give us all the help we might expect; too often its dates are imprecise, too often also we remain unclear whether a[n artist's] representation relates to the natives of the place where it was found, or whether it is meant to be realistic or idealizing, which tends to mean archaizing or Hellenizing."¹³³ Rawson's analysis, although coming from a very different era, undoubtedly carries some truth, as no amount of arms or armor will give the same level of detail as that contained in the literary sources. Additionally, it cannot be argued that the archaeological record for the period stretching from the middle of the sixth century through to the beginning of the third century, despite all the discoveries which have occurred in recent years, is anything but disappointingly thin. The seventh and sixth centuries saw a gradual shift in burial practice at Rome away from elaborate displays of wealth in tombs (a trend which is evidenced to varying degrees throughout central Italy in the middle of the sixth century), which resulted in a marked decline in military equipment finds from funerary contexts, which constituted the vast majority of evidence for warfare from earlier periods.¹³⁴ Additionally, as Rawson noted, it is entirely uncertain whether the few artifacts which have been recovered from Rome are indicative of actual military practices, or whether they reflect archaizing or Hellenizing tendencies.

¹³⁰ See Bishop and Coulston 2006 as an example.

¹³¹ Most of the evidence for early military activity which has been recovered was found outside Latium (Burns 2003: 66–75). See Burns 2005 and Paddock 1993 for a summary and analysis of the available evidence for military activity during the fifth through third centuries.

¹³² For a summary of changes in archaeology and its reception by the academic community during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries AD see Stary 1981, Paddock 1993, and Renfrew 2004: 21–52.

¹³³ Rawson 1971: 13.

¹³⁴ Elsewhere, some tombs dating to the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries did still contain lavish grave goods, particularly at Lanuvium and Praeneste.

Despite these issues, it would obviously be unfair to discount the archaeological record for early Rome with regard to warfare on these grounds because the literary sources suffer from the same issues of selective survival and interpretation, and often to a greater extent. While the archaeological record is undoubtedly problematic, it is in many ways superior to the literary evidence, in that it is at least roughly contemporary with the periods under study, and is not subject to late republican fabrication. Furthermore, although the archaeological evidence for Roman warfare is severely limited for the period from the mid sixth century through to the third century, it is not absent entirely. The direct evidence for military equipment disappears at Rome during the seventh and sixth centuries, but there is still a consistent record of fortifications at the site down through the late Republic. Additionally, there are several important iconographic representations of warriors from Rome dating to the period in question, most notably those from the excavations near the Forum Boarium, and from the excavation of a fifth century temple on the Esquiline.¹³⁵

Additionally, when warfare is seen as part of wider social, political, and economic trends, a large collection of indirect archaeological evidence from early Rome also becomes applicable. For instance, the meager archaeological evidence dating to the fifth century and the seeming absence of large building projects seem to match up with the picture painted by the literary sources, which record a century of political turmoil and military reverses – although other explanations also exist.¹³⁶ Alternatively, the seeming absence of a city-wide destruction layer following the supposedly devastating Gallic sack of 390 hints that the literary sources may have exaggerated Rome's defeat,¹³⁷ a point supported by the almost immediate renewal of monumental building in Rome after 390, which had stalled during the fifth century.¹³⁸ While there is strong evidence for a mobile gentilicial elite in Latium during the seventh and sixth centuries, aristocratic houses, like those dating to the late sixth century uncovered on the Palatine by Andrea Carandini, show evidence for continuous occupation into the fourth century and therefore provide some evidence for aristocratic stability in Rome beginning in the late sixth century.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ See *RMR*: 100–114 for a detailed description of the excavations. ¹³⁶ Cornell 2000: 43.

¹³⁷ Various claims have been put forward regarding a possible destruction layer associated with the sack of 390, most notably by Clementina Panella (a well-respected archaeologist who has worked in the forum for over twenty years), although there is still no solid evidence for it or consensus on it.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*: 44. While the sources do not necessarily say that the sack would have left Rome unable to rebuild, the immense destruction and loss of wealth associated with the sack (as described) would have made this immediate return to power and prosperity unlikely.

¹³⁹ Carandini 1997: 117–148.

Although comparisons between archaeological sites can be problematic, as each site is undoubtedly unique, the proximity between Rome and other sites in Latium along with their clear, shared cultural heritage makes some basic comparisons not only possible but extremely beneficial. The site of Lavinium, located nineteen miles to the southeast of Rome, is one of the most important archaeological sites in Latium because of its rich finds and continuous occupation from the Bronze Age through the Archaic period and down to the end of the fourth century.¹⁴⁰ Excavations have revealed a substantial urban center in the sixth century, containing both fortifications and cult places, which is comparable in size to what is known of Rome in the sixth century. This evidence seems to support Lavinium's position as one of the dominant cities in Latium until the Latin revolt of the mid fourth century, and indeed it is not until the end of the third century that there is any evidence of destruction or abandonment of the main site structures.¹⁴¹ A known cult center, several altars have been discovered at the site, originally built in the mid sixth century and successively rebuilt until the end of the fourth century.¹⁴² Bronze plaques were attached to the altars, one bearing a sixth century inscription, written in Greek which had been transliterated into Latin, to Castor and Pollux, and other votive evidence indicated that both Venus and Minerva were also worshiped here.¹⁴³ In addition, a large number of terracotta votive statues, pottery, small bronzes, and other objects have been found, with the latest dating to the end of the third century. But despite the evident prominence of the site, very little evidence exists for military activity at Lavinium, apart from the remains of fortifications which have been dated to sometime after the seventh century, indicating that the absence of military finds at Rome may have been indicative of a larger trend and not merely a result of archaeological bias relating to the unique situation at the site.¹⁴⁴

Lanuvium represented a slightly different type of Latin settlement. The site of Lanuvium seems to have been inhabited from a slightly later date than Lavinium, beginning sometime in the early Iron Age – a point supported by the recent discovery of early Iron Age huts.¹⁴⁵ Like Lavinium, Lanuvium represented an important religious site in Latium, as indicated by the presence of an early temple to Juno and the discovery of

¹⁴⁰ See Scott 2005: 98–101 for a more detailed discussion on the site and its history.

¹⁴¹ See *ibid.*: 100. ¹⁴² See *ibid.*: 99 for a more detailed discussion of the altars.

¹⁴³ See *ibid.*: 99.

¹⁴⁴ Only the foundations of Lavinium's early fortifications survive today, which have been given a *terminus post quem* of the seventh century, as they cut through the foundations of earlier, eighth century huts. See Cornell 1985–1986: 130 for discussion.

¹⁴⁵ See Gierow 1964 for evidence and discussion.

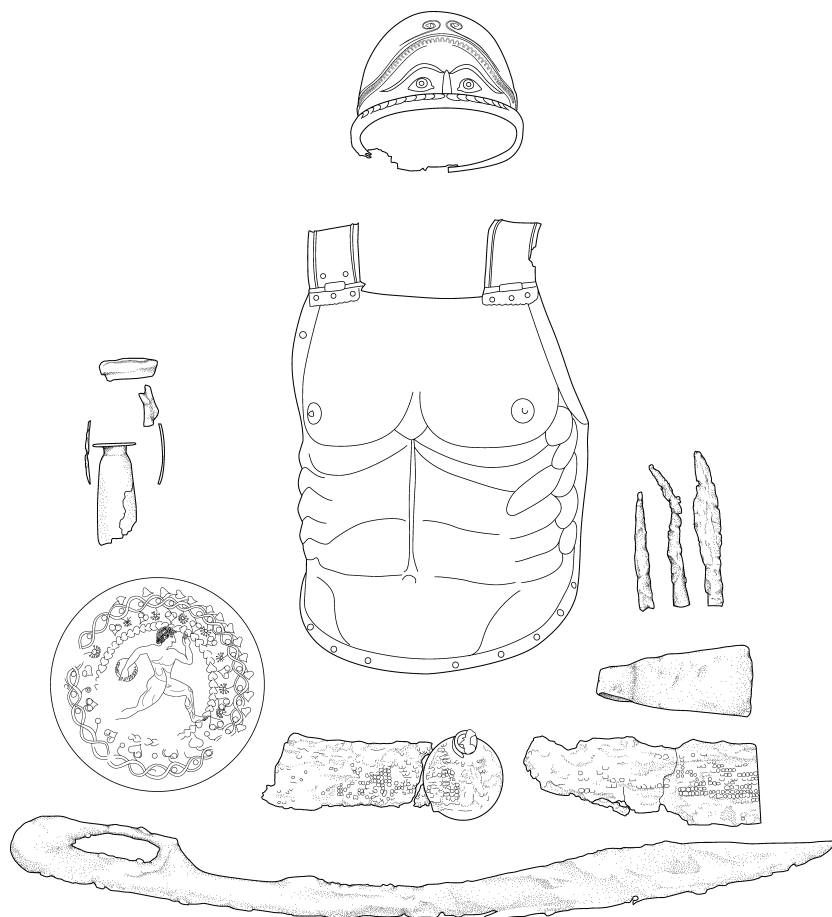


Fig. 1.1 Image of Lanuvium Panoply, as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Romano – Terme di Diocleziano

votive offerings which were deposited continuously from the early Iron Age down to at least the seventh century.¹⁴⁶ Lanuvium, however, offers more evidence for military activity in Latium as, in addition to the presence of fortifications, the discovery of a warrior's bronze panoply (Fig. 1.1), dated to the early fifth century (c. 475), indicates that these types of deposits did not disappear entirely and that warfare and military equipment continued to play an important role in Latin society during the period.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ D'Agostino 1990: 76–77.

The community of Satricum, also located to the southeast of Rome, represents another comparative example. It was originally excavated in the late nineteenth century and has been the subject of renewed excavation and study since 1977. Situated on the crossroads of the inland route from Antium to Velitrae and the coastal route from Caere to Campania, the archaeology of Satricum demonstrates a clear interplay between Greek and Latin elements.¹⁴⁸ There is a sixth century temple to Mater Matuta on the acropolis, which seems to show a number of distinctive Greek elements in its terracotta decoration,¹⁴⁹ while near the southern limit of the city a second temple has been discovered which has been labeled “Tuscan” in design.¹⁵⁰ A number of sixth century inscriptions on the acropolis indicates its importance as a focal point for cult activity, one of which bears the name of a Poplios Valesios (the famous *Lapis Satricanus* found built into the c. 500 iteration of the temple of Mater Matuta on the acropolis – Fig. 1.2), who has been identified as Publius Valerius Publicola, a prominent Roman.¹⁵¹ With regard to military activity, the site contains sixth century fortifications, of the *fossa* and *agger* type.¹⁵²

The examples of Lavinium, Lanuvium, Satricum, and Rome therefore suggest that Latin settlements typically contained two types of military finds dating to the period from the sixth to the fourth century: large features, including fortifications, and individual deposits, including both grave deposits and votive offerings. Of these two types of finds, the large features are by far the most common. Indeed, fortifications can be found at almost every major archaic site in Latium.¹⁵³ However, early Latin fortifications are also extremely problematic as they rarely completely circumvallate their respective settlements and, because of their seventh, sixth, and even fifth and fourth century dates, often represented relatively late phenomena in the history of the settlements.¹⁵⁴ Conversely, individual deposits of items related to warfare seem to represent the continuation of a strong archaic

¹⁴⁸ Scott 2005: 100. It should be noted that the bibliography underlying Scott’s argument and analysis of Latin archaeology is extremely important. In particular, the work done by Carandini (1997), Castagnoli (1972–1975), Menichetti (1995), Quilici and Quilici Gigli (1978, 1980), and Stibbe (1980), among many others, has been fundamental in expanding our understanding of Latial culture in the archaic and early republican periods. See Smith 1998 for additional discussion and references.

¹⁴⁹ See Winter 1993. ¹⁵⁰ See Scott 2005: 100. ¹⁵¹ See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

¹⁵² Fortifications have also been found elsewhere in Latium, including Ardea, Ficana, and Decima (Cornell 1994: 125).

¹⁵³ See Becker 2007 and 2013 for detailed discussion.

¹⁵⁴ See Bernard 2012 for the example of Rome.



Fig. 1.2 Image of Lapis Satricanus

tradition dating back to the early Iron Age;¹⁵⁵ however, this type of find began to disappear from the archaeological record for Latium during the seventh century, and became extremely rare in Latium by the late sixth century. That being noted, the individual deposits which have survived tend to represent a large amount of wealth (e.g. the Lanuvium panoply and the *Lapis Satricanus*), indicating that individual military deposits were largely the preserve of the socio-economic elite.

Excavations outside of Latium have produced the vast majority of data relating to warfare in central Italy associated with the sixth through the third centuries, and have been covered in detail by a number of

¹⁵⁵ Indeed, these much debated (and disputed) types of deposits constitute the majority of the archaeological evidence which can be related to military activity for the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries. See Gjerstad 1966 for discussion and Stary 1981 for a catalogue of relevant finds.

studies.¹⁵⁶ Paddock's 1993 thesis was concerned with Italian bronze helmets, Burns' 2005 thesis concentrated on the panoply of southern Italic warrior, and Stary's 1981 catalogue covered the military finds from central Italy and discussed the wide variety of armor types which relate to the period in question. D'Agostino, among others, has developed interesting models of Etruscan warfare by studying images of warriors from Etruria, most notably those commonly found on gravestones.¹⁵⁷ The nature of this evidence will be discussed in detail later in the present study; however, it should be noted here that while this evidence can only impact the present study indirectly, it does illustrate the spectrum of equipment present in central and southern Italy, offering limits within which Rome's early military equipment might be set.

Methodology for the archaeological evidence

Archaeology must play an integral role in any study looking at archaic Italian warfare, as it constitutes the largest collection of evidence for warfare in Latium which can be reliably dated. Where available, direct evidence for military activity (military equipment, fortifications, iconographic evidence, etc.) will be utilized with an eye to identifying the nature and style of warfare, the degree of community involvement, and the character and identity of the adversaries. Each piece of archaeological evidence will be analyzed individually with regard to these three points, and then integrated with the literary evidence to form a general model of warfare at Rome. Comparisons between the archaeology of Rome and that of other sites in Latium and central Italy will be used to demonstrate regional trends in military practice and as an indication of cultural norms.

Perhaps the most important contribution which archaeology will make in this discussion is in providing evidence for the social and economic backdrop of warfare in Latium. This will entail the use of archaeology to assist in the identification of various social groupings, primarily through burial patterns and customs. It will also involve the recognition of economic shifts and trends, and the characterization of settlement patterns. Archaeology will therefore be used to provide the rough physical delineations of war and society in early Rome and Latium, over which the literary evidence can then be applied.

¹⁵⁶ An Italo-Chalkidian helmet was found in Latium and dated to the fifth century (Paddock 1993: 271–318), in addition the panoply from Lanuvium (see above).

¹⁵⁷ Stary 1981 and D'Agostino 1990: 76–77.

CHAPTER 2

Rome in the sixth century

Given the problematic nature of the sources for early Rome, and the wide range of methods and approaches which have been adopted to address the issue, the basic picture of the early Roman community explicitly presented in the literary sources can no longer be accepted as the automatic starting point for a study on the topic. Depending on which evidence is utilized and how much weight is given to each of the various sources, the image of Roman society as it emerged from the eighth and seventh centuries can vary dramatically. However, in order to understand how Roman society developed during the late sixth to fourth centuries, it is essential to identify where Rome started out this period of evolution. The present chapter will therefore present a brief summary of Roman society, and Latin society more generally, as it existed at the beginning of the sixth century in terms of society, politics, agriculture, trade, and warfare, based on the approach to the evidence outlined in the [previous chapter](#). It should be noted that such a summary can only give an indication of the present study's position within such a complex and controversial area; however, given the sometimes substantial variation between this position and that offered by both the ancient literary sources and other modern scholars, this synopsis, and the evidence it presents, will play a crucial role in setting the stage for later developments.

Society

Prior to the tenth century, the territory of central Italy was populated by a reasonably homogenous network of small settlements which seem to have exhibited fundamentally similar social and cultural characteristics.¹

¹ This culture is commonly known as “proto-Villanovan,” with Etruria developing a fully fledged Villanovan culture, was named after finds at the landmark site of Villanova, near Bologna. See Smith 1996 and Holloway 1994 for discussions which present the impact of the proto-Villanovan and

Beginning in the tenth century, the region experienced a general trend toward settlement intensification and ultimately nucleation.² In Latium, this began in the Alban Hills but gradually expanded throughout the region during the ninth century, with settlement clusters appearing at the sites of Rome, Gabii, Ardea, and Lavinium, among others.³ The settlements within these clusters, although not fully unified, were likely not completely autonomous either, as indicated by their relative proximity and communication links, and the wide expanse of territory which separated them from other settlement clusters.⁴ These collections of associated communities exhibited a high level of internal solidarity, with little to no visible separation within cemeteries and limited differentiation in grave deposits.⁵ In addition, evidence for the beginnings of definite regional traditions, visible in the archaeological record, among both the component communities in various settlement clusters and between collections of settlement clusters themselves has led to the identification of emergent cultural and tribal units during this period.⁶ Consequently, although the population of central Italy was descended from the late Bronze Age “umbrella” culture of the proto-Villanovans and therefore shared certain core characteristics, by the end of the ninth century the region contained several distinct cultural groups, including the Latins and Etruscans, in addition to a range of more localized variants.⁷

Beginning in the eighth century, the settlement clusters in central Italy began a process of synoecism, or nucleation. This period of unification is generally marked by shifting burial grounds to areas outside of the settlement

Villanovan cultures on archaic Latium. See Fulminante 2014 for a more recent debate. See Bietti Sestieri 1992: 233 for specific examples of Latin settlement practices during this period.

² See Fulminante 2014 for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon. ³ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 234.

⁴ *Ibid.*: 234. This period, also known as Latial Period II (c. 900–770), was also associated with an increase in burial numbers and the quantity of grave goods per burial (see Smith 2000: 21).

⁵ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 238. The evidence for internal solidarity in these early settlements was entirely from mortuary deposits.

⁶ One of the primary pieces of evidence for the formation of distinct tribal groups was regional variation in pottery production (Smith 2000: 21). These groups were identified following the classical definition of a tribal unit as a segmentary and territorially based society, constituted by groups which share common origins and customs, a certain degree of social hierarchy, and a relatively weak political organization (see Sahlins 1968). While some, including Freid (1968), have argued that this definition can prove problematic in archaeological contexts, the present study follows Bietti Sestieri (1992) in arguing that it does still have some value for populations like that in archaic Latium.

⁷ *Ibid.*: 238–239. It is worth noting here that labels like “Villanovan” and “Proto-Villanovan” are entirely modern constructions and such cultural differentiations would have had little meaning for the people of archaic Italy. Indeed, as Bourdin has noted, even labels like “Latin” and “Etruscan” were likely largely “constructed” identifiers (Bourdin 2012: 789–794), although the various groups did have some broad social and cultural markers – most notably language.

clusters. For instance in Rome the Forum necropolis was abandoned in favor of a burial area on the Esquiline, thereby allowing the Forum to be occupied.⁸ Furthermore, the period witnessed a spate of fortification building, a practice which was most apparent in settlements like that of Antium and Ardea, where these archaic fortifications are still visible,⁹ but also at the sites of Gabii, Satricum, Veii,¹⁰ and possibly Rome.¹¹ Coinciding with these developments, what had been a roughly egalitarian society in central Italy began to develop distinct socio-economic levels, clearly visible in the archaeological remains through the marked difference in the burial customs used in graves with and without grave goods.¹² While mortuary evidence indicates that the lower socio-economic levels of central Italian society largely maintained their egalitarian principles and utilized an extended family structure within these new proto-urban communities, this period saw a marked increase in competition among the kinship units of the socio-economic elite associated with the settlements, or at least their necropoleis, with the focus of aristocratic display being on burials of males of military age, which often included military equipment.¹³

⁸ Betelli 1997, Holloway 1994. Recent excavations conducted by Anna De Sanctis in the Forum of Caesar have served to reveal the extent of the archaic cemetery in the Roman Forum. Holloway argued that this shift from the Forum to the Esquiline was not as straightforward as it appeared, citing two cremation burials on the Esquiline which should date to an earlier period following the traditional model, and suggested that the forum necropolis may have been used contemporaneously with that on the Esquiline (Holloway 1994: 20–50; see Smith 2000: 22 for discussion). Nonetheless, it is clear that while there may have been some overlap between these necropoleis, the general trend was to move burials to a position outside of the slowly unifying settlement cluster.

⁹ See Ziolkowski 2005 for a general discussion of the phenomenon in Latium. See also Gjerstad 1966: 495–497. It should be noted that while Gjerstad's work on early Rome still represents an important collection of evidence on the early development of the city, many of his arguments, and particularly his pottery typology, have been shown to be demonstrably wrong (see Palmer 1975: 386–390 and Ammerman 1990: 627–645), with most of the objections stemming from disagreements over his chronology. As a result, while this study will often utilize Gjerstad's work as a source of evidence, it will not utilize Gjerstad's actual analysis.

¹⁰ Gjerstad 1966: 497–499, and more recently Becker 2007 and 2013.

¹¹ An eighth-century earthen wall at Rome (see Cristofani 1990, Carandini 1992: 1–18, Smith 2000: 23, and Bernard 2012: 1–44) has often been associated with Varro's testimony for an earthen wall at the Carinae between the Oppian and Velian hills (Varro *LL* 5.48). Modern interpretations are typically more cautious (see for instance Smith 2000: 21), and there is little evidence to suggest the presence of substantial fortifications at the site of Rome prior to the sixth century (Gjerstad 1966: 356). In addition, none of these early central Italian fortifications completely seem to have encircled their respective settlements, indicating that the process of unification was likely gradual and that the boundaries of these settlements may not have been as clearly defined as in later periods (for instance, the *pomerium* in Rome, which is traditionally associated with the sixth century (Varro *LL* 5.45)). See Bernard 2012 for detailed discussion and the current arguments against this early wall representing full circumvallation. See Cifani 2012 for an alternative opinion.

¹² Bietti Sestieri 1992: 202–203.

¹³ This social differentiation is visible in the burial evidence from the Latin settlement of Osteria dell'Osa, and is supported by comparative evidence from the sites of Castiglione, Satricum,

Among members of the lower level of the socio-economic spectrum very little seems to have changed from the early Iron Age as the extended family remained the main social unit and social constructs continued to evolve along the same principles (at least as far as mortuary evidence can reveal), with geography and settlement affiliation seeming to be the most important social identifiers—a point which is illustrated by the continued lack of separation between low status graves and grave groups, and the egalitarian nature of funerary deposits.¹⁴ This, coupled with developments in agriculture, arguably led to an increasingly sedentary, settled, and possibly unified society among members of this group, increasingly focused around the region's nucleating settlements, with a high level of social and cultural homogeneity. Members of this group were largely indistinguishable from each other after death, as they were buried in similar graves containing similar grave goods (if any), and generally lacking in evidence for organization beyond a single extended family.

The situation among members of the upper socio-economic level of Latin society was markedly different. Increased competition between rival kinship groups, based on both direct lineage and increasingly martial values, is visible and seems to have made kinship and lineage the most important social identifiers for these individuals.¹⁵ A series of new mortuary practices among this group also suggests a marked shift in organization with an increased focus on larger kinship groups rather than individual burials, and with elite social groups being maintained for longer periods of time (exceeding the average for a single extended family) along with evidence for increasingly complex kinship structures among the elite. All of this led Bietti Sestieri to posit this period as the point of origin for the aristocratic

Caracupa, and Rome. Martial values are indicated by the inclusion of full-sized weapons and armor in graves, which represented a marked shift from the previous practice of cremation and inclusion of miniature, model weapons. Bietti Sestieri argued that this increased competition among the aristocracy led to "the final disruption of the community's internal solidarity," as the mortuary evidence indicated a divergence in social practices associated with aristocratic and non-aristocratic graves after this period (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 209, 240–243).

¹⁴ See Gjerstad 1956 for evidence from Rome, and Bietti Sestieri 1992 for evidence from Osteria dell'Osa and a summary of mortuary evidence from other central Italian sites.

¹⁵ Bietti Sestieri argued the case for direct lineage becoming the dominant social identifier among the central Italian elite based on analysis of funerary evidence for the late eighth and early seventh centuries. In particular, this kinship focus of the elite is demonstrated by the emergence of distinct, kinship-based burial areas for elite groups within the previously integrated *necropoleis* (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 241). Additionally, as Richard noted, the seventh century also witnessed the advent of a hereditary patronymic among the wealthy elite – the *nomen gentile* – indicating the importance of gentilicial connections in this emerging aristocracy (Richard 2005: 110). However, it should be noted that all of this is heavily debated (see particularly Cuozzo and Guidi 2013).

Latin *gens*, or “clan.”¹⁶ The focus on martial exploits as part of this socio-economic competition, seen in the changing use and occurrence of weapons in adult elite graves, suggests that these kinship units were becoming increasingly warlike, or at least were more closely associated with warfare, particularly in comparison to the more settled populations of the region’s emergent urban communities¹⁷ – although the absence of comparable grave goods makes a direct comparison impossible. It is also worth noting that kinship was not the only factor at work in the formation of central Italian elite groups, as there is evidence for the presence of what appear to be foreigners (i.e. not members of the same kinship unit) in high status graves within elite family burial groups.¹⁸ Often situated on the edges of larger burial groupings, these individuals, who do not seem to have been integrated into the direct lineage patterns of the larger burial group and yet were still associated and whose grave goods indicated a high social status, may correspond to the tradition for *sodales* (effectively “sword brothers”) in archaic central Italy,¹⁹ as typified by the figures of Macstarna and the Vibenna brothers, who were linked by strong social, religious, and military bonds.²⁰

The difference between these two emergent groups within Latin society is marked. Although they clearly evolved out of the same group and shared many cultural similarities, burial customs indicate at least the beginnings of a clear division at this time. For instance, from the mid eighth century onwards the cemetery at Osteria dell’Osa was no longer used by the resident community, which had begun to shift its focus toward the emerging site of Gabii.²¹ However, the elite groups (the region’s *gentes* or proto-*gentes* as identified by Bietti Sestieri) continued to use the old necropolis down to the sixth century, despite the decline of the local settlement. This suggests that Latium’s emergent aristocratic *gentes* may not only have had a

¹⁶ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 199–203.

¹⁷ The martial character of these groups is evident in their monopoly on military items in funerary deposits. However, Bietti Sestieri argued that the transition from real to symbolic weapons during the Latial Phase III (which roughly corresponds to the eighth century), in addition to their inclusion in the burials of some older adults, marked a significant development in social organization, as the physical ability to use weapons was no longer the primary prerequisite for prestige and status (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 208). The deposition of symbolic weapons in older male graves was, however, limited to the graves of the heads of aristocratic units, arguably supporting the presence of organized aristocratic warbands.

¹⁸ This was suggested by Bietti Sestieri (1992: 241) based on her analysis of lineages in the burials at Osteria dell’Osa.

¹⁹ Many scholars have adopted the late medieval term *condottieri* to refer to early central Italian war leaders, and this practice will also be used in the present thesis. See Mallett 1974 for a discussion of the medieval term. See Cornell 1995b: 143, 428 for the use of the term *condottieri* over other translated equivalents. See Rawlings 1998: 98 for additional discussion. See Chapter 4 for discussion of *sodales*.

²⁰ Cornell 1995b: 143–150. ²¹ *Ibid.*: 211

different social organization based on a hierarchical kinship model, and possibly different beliefs, but more importantly they seem to have increasingly existed outside the boundaries and norms of the emergent local communities. This development, coupled with the preference for kinship and strong social linkages over those of geographic or settlement affiliation preferred by the lower socio-economic levels, may have allowed the *gentes* and proto-*gentes* to enjoy a certain degree of independence or autonomy from local settlements, fostered an extramural focus, and allowed a level of potential mobility.²² What is traditionally known as the Latial Period IIB and III (c. 830–750) seems therefore to have witnessed the creation of two strands of development in Latium – the urban and the gentilicial – which, although discrete, were still often intertwined and were of course borne from the same thread, although they also maintained distinct identities based in part on different social structures and, increasingly, behavioral norms.

The creation of this type of social division, which also features marked differences in behavior, is by no means unique and there are strong parallels with other cultures. Early medieval Europe (AD 900–1300) provides one of the better examples where similar groups developed, particularly in the more rural regions. As Reynolds has argued, in many rural provinces the elite seem to have evolved, or in some cases remained, as a distinct group within medieval society, which was often defined by the ideals of the archaic clan and/or warband.²³ Emphasizing martial values and kinship-based loyalties, the elite, although they interacted with the population of a given region and maintained many common customs and interests, existed along fundamentally different lines.²⁴ Most notably, with power based largely on military strength and economic influence, and therefore only indirectly based on the land, the elite lacked the strong connection to specific pieces of territory which marked the lower socio-economic classes.²⁵ Indeed, although they played an important role in the political and social life of the region, their connection to a given region was often ephemeral and transitory.²⁶ Conversely, the rural peasant population was

²² This mobility was evidently limited however and, as Bietti Sestieri argued, it is likely that kinship groups maintained some kind of connection with their area of origin. This is evidenced in the cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, where aristocratic families who had left the settlement for Gabii evidently returned to bury family members in the clan burial ground, after the abandonment of the settlement site (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 211).

²³ Reynolds 1997: 243–245. ²⁴ *Ibid.* ²⁵ *Ibid.*: 154.

²⁶ This is perhaps most visible in medieval England, where many elites “voted with their feet” and moved from region to region when unfavorable situations arose for which they had no recourse (*Ibid.*: 249).

typically unified by their geography and position within local communities, which operated with a high degree of collective activity and voluntary cooperation.²⁷ Although by no means egalitarian utopias, the agrarian/settled nature of these rural settlements helped to foment powerful, lasting associations between the local populations and communities, which often superseded the more personal and kinship-based loyalties favored by the elite.²⁸

During the eighth century Latium continued to experience a gradual shift in settlement patterns, which had begun at the beginning of the Iron Age, with an increased focus on communities situated on Latium's north-south trade routes along the Tyrrhenian coast (Ardea, Lavinium, etc.) and Sacco-Liri river valley (most notably Gabii), and a resultant marginalization of earlier interior sites, most notably those on the Alban Hills.²⁹ This move coincided with the creation of numerous minor, possibly single-kinship, settlements throughout Latium.³⁰ The interpretation of these smaller sites and their relationship with larger communities is still debated, but their existence suggests that at the same time that Latium's larger urban sites were experiencing nucleation and increased cohesion, there was also a move by certain facets of Latin society to form small, distinct social units, likely based on kinship lines. Although small in size, it is clear that these settlements, built in an age of increased trade and communication among the region's elite, did not experience the same marginalization as the interior sites. Indeed, in addition to retaining links with the region's emerging urban centers, these small settlements and kinship groups seem to have maintained links with other kinship groups. As Ampolo has demonstrated, there is strong epigraphic evidence which, when coupled with the literary sources, indicates that there existed an "open society" among the aristocracy in Latium where the movement of aristocrats between communities was not only allowed but encouraged by exogamous marriage customs.³¹

Latin society continued to develop during subsequent centuries and, although it undoubtedly represented a diverse and multifaceted entity, the remnants of the basic dichotomy seen in the archaeological record for the eighth and seventh centuries were still evident and visible in the sixth and fifth centuries. Although archaeological evidence declines substantially

²⁷ *Ibid.*: 154. ²⁸ *Ibid.*: 154. ²⁹ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 70–75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*: 240. This period also witnessed a marked separation between burial areas and settlements, which may indicate both the beginnings of the formalization of the settlement boundaries and the ritual separation of the elite kinship groups from the settlement itself.

³¹ Ampolo 1970–1971.

during this period, archaic Latium's kinship-based, gentilicial elite seem to have formed the basis for what might be dubbed a "proto-patrician" aristocracy in Rome, which is also evident in the literary record for the period.³² It is always hazardous to ascribe these types of labels to early groups but, looking at the behavior of the patrician aristocracy in the literary evidence and its strong association with kinship and hierarchy (which even their name declares), the connection is plausible at the very least. Although various developments, which will be discussed later, led to this regional aristocracy becoming increasingly sedentary during the late sixth and early fifth centuries, the "proto-patricians" remained at least potentially mobile with an extramural identity, and dominated the region's warfare throughout the archaic period.³³ Conversely, the settled, community-based population of the lower socio-economic classes may have ultimately developed into what could be plausibly called the "proto-plebeians."³⁴ Again, the use of this label and the connection to the plebeians of the middle and late Republic is extremely problematic, but the behavior of this group does seem to bear a resemblance to the early behavior of the historical plebeians. These archaic "proto-plebeians," for whom kinship-based identification seems to have assumed an increasingly secondary role by the late sixth century, likely represented the same population which had occupied Rome in the previous centuries.³⁵ With a

³² Richard identified the socio-economic elite of the seventh century with Rome's "proto-patricians" (Richard 2005: 110). The sixth and early fifth centuries also witnessed both the advent of literary evidence for *gentes* being associated with particular areas around Rome, and the "closing of the patriciate" (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

³³ This is supported by osteology studies conducted by Rubini, which suggested that Latium experienced a migratory phenomenon involving only the male sex (Gnade and Rubini 2002: 169). Although not conclusive in and of itself, it may support the presence of mobile warbands in central Italy, or possibly rites like the *ver sacrum*.

³⁴ Bietti Sestieri separated these two social groups, evident in the archaeology, into the *gentes* and *clientes* (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 241). However, this division implied a link (patron–client link) which is not actually visible. The basic division into "patrician" and "plebeian" (or "proto-patrician" and "proto-plebeian"), whereby the *gentes* are predominantly associated with the patricians, represents a much closer approximation of the essential dichotomy which pervades the literary narrative and of the situation which seems to be present in the regal and early republican periods (see Richard 2005: 107).

³⁵ This may have been a result of the role which the community began to play in their self-identification during the eighth and seventh centuries. However, this is not to argue *plebei gentes non habent* (see, for instance, De Martino 1979: 77–89), as it is likely that some plebeian or proto-plebeian families did exist as *gentes*, some of which may have survived until the late Republic (see Richard 1978: 182). Indeed, excavations at Satricum have indicated that the urban population continued to be buried roughly according to kinship lines well into the fifth century – although this is still disputed and there are suggestions that these later burials may relate to a Volscian population (Gnade and Rubini 2002: 124). However, it is evident that kinship began to play an increasingly minor role in self-identification for the plebeians, possibly as a result of immigration during the seventh, sixth, and

focus on community-based, agrarian principles (along with growing industrial capabilities) and maintaining strong associations with particular pieces of land, the plebeians operated along completely different lines from Rome's gentilicial elite. Although lacking the tight kinship focus evident in the gentilicial organization of the aristocracy,³⁶ the settled population did still maintain internal divisions, as evidenced by the curiate system in Rome.³⁷ This system will be discussed later in more depth, but it seems to have represented the earliest version of the city of Rome as a distinct urban entity.³⁸ Traditionally formed by the union of the Sabines and the Romans under Romulus after the mythic rape of the Sabine women, the literary tradition hints at an origin as part of the period of the synoecism and settlement intensification which marked the eighth century.³⁹ Although membership in the *curiae* was traditionally associated with gentilicial links,⁴⁰ the evidence for *gentes* being part of the *curiae* is ambiguous at best,⁴¹ and may have represented an anachronistic invention.⁴² Given the strong agricultural associations of the *curiae*,⁴³ the tradition of the members of the *comitia curiata* performing a variety of distinctly plebeian rituals and practices, most notably the *provocatio*,⁴⁴ and in the association between the

fifth centuries and the group's "catch-all" nature, particularly after the "closing of the patriciate." The end result of this is seen in the recent ambiguity over whether the plebeians had *gentes* at all (see Cornell 1995b: 84 for discussion).

³⁶ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 211.

³⁷ See Smith 2006: 184–234 for a detailed discussion of the Roman *curiae*. See also Chapter 3.

³⁸ Smith 2006: 200. ³⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.7; Plut. *Rom.* 19.4.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Carandini 1997 and Smith 2006.

⁴¹ Principally, it is Laelius Felix's assertion that the *curiae* were organized according to *genera hominum* (Gell. *NA* 15.27), which has been used to support the gentilicial links, as *genera* is taken to mean *gens* (see for instance Palmer 1970: 69–71). However, while Smith argued that *genera hominum* was often used interchangeably with *gentes* in the late Republic (implying that the *curiae* contained *gentes*), he acknowledged that this may not be the meaning which Laelius Felix intended. Further, although the word *genus* was used in the late Republic to describe both patricians and plebeians, references to identifiable plebeian *gentes* are nonexistent (at least during the Republic and early Empire), with the result that reading this may represent an incorrect, or at least anachronistic, interpretation of the early curiate assembly (Smith 2006: 184–185). Indeed, the names of the *curiae* which we know do not have any gentilicial associations and the decline of the *curiae* during the late regal period is not matched by a coinciding decline in the power of *gentes* (Smith 2006: 184, 205). That being noted, it seems likely that the *gentes* and Rome's proto-patricians did become associated with the *curiae* sometime during the fifth and fourth centuries, as by the late Republic the *curio maximus* was required to be a patrician and some aspects of the legislative duties of the *curiae* did impact various gentilicial activities (see Ferenczy 1976: 29–30).

⁴² It is clear that the ancient sources believed that the *curiae* contained *gentes*, as seen by Dionysius of Halicarnassus' discussion of the formation of the Roman senate (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.47) and Livy's association between the *curiae* and the entirety of the Roman population, seen in the phrase *populus Romanus Quiritum* (Liv. 1.24; 1.32–33; 2.23; 3.20; 3.41–45; 6.40; 8.9; 9.10; 10.28), although he is unique in using this formulation (see Smith 2006: 200).

⁴³ Smith 2006: 206–207. ⁴⁴ Lintott 1972: 229.

assembly and the *transitio ad plebem* during the Republic,⁴⁵ there are hints that the *curiae* were initially associated primarily with the proto-plebeian population in Rome.⁴⁶ Thus they may have represented a precursor to Rome's later urban tribes.⁴⁷

As a result, although they were descended from the same population and culture and located in the same region, and often in the same settlement, these two groups within Latin society seem to have developed different social structures and behaviors. Indeed, the literary evidence for Rome during the late regal and early republican periods suggests that the social interaction between the two groups was limited, even during this later period. This interaction often took the form of the lower class being a target for military and socio-economic domination and predation by the elite clans, a focus of *nexum*, or debt-bondage, and a possible source of clients, or temporary followers whose link to the patron was predominantly economic – although obviously imbued with various social, legal, and religious aspects.⁴⁸ By the fifth century aspects of this relationship were evidently formalized in the laws of *The Twelve Tables*. The social group identified as the *populus* in early Roman sources may have represented one of the few points of union between the gentilicial aristocracy and the urban population,⁴⁹ where members of the community may have joined the

⁴⁵ Smith 2006: 212–213.

⁴⁶ See Magdelain 1979 for a similar argument. It should be noted that the correlation between proto-plebeian and plebeians (and proto-patrician and patrician) is not exact, and that some members of the patrician order, as it emerged in the fifth century, may have originated in the *curiae*. Indeed, it is likely that a community the size of Rome would have contained several wealthy and important families. However, the evidence indicated the *curiae*, as they existed in the archaic period, were not organized by *gentes* and were unlikely to contain members of the patriciate which were part of the mobile, *gens*-based elite.

⁴⁷ Indeed, two of the eight *curia* names which we do know (*Foriensis* and *Veliensis*) both seem to be associated with geographic locations in Rome, the Forum and the Velian (Smith 2006: 188). Richard argued that the *curiae* were closely associated with Rome's archaic urban festivals, and most notably the *Fornacalia* (which was celebrated in honor of the goddess of furnaces and baking, Fornax) while the *gentes* seem to have been based in more rural areas (Richard 2005: 108–109, 113). Additionally, the opposition between the *curiae* and the *pagi* hint that the *curiae* had a strong association with the urban nucleus of early Rome.

⁴⁸ There is a wide range of evidence referring to the late sixth century which suggested this link. For instance, Sextus Tarquinius used booty from successful raids to expand his base of followers in Gabii (Liv. 1.54), and Livy noted that Tarquinius Superbus began military actions against Ardea for the purpose of acquiring wealth to placate his followers (Liv. 1.57).

⁴⁹ The *populus* represented an anomaly in early Roman society, as it seemed to exist as a separate entity from both the *Quirites*/proto-plebeians and the aristocracy/proto-patricians, notwithstanding Livy's anomalous use of the phrase *populus Romanus Quiritum* (see above). Bietti Sestieri argued that graves which were near various aristocratic clan burial areas, but which lacked grave goods, may represent early *clientes* (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 241), possibly providing evidence for this group which existed between the aristocracy and the sedentary community. However, it must be admitted that this is entirely speculative.

aristocratic *gentes* as part of temporary (and likely warfare-based) alliances,⁵⁰ possibly by means of a patron-client relationship and/or *imperium* (indeed, these two institutions likely existed in the same sphere).⁵¹ This type of union is indirectly supported by the strong military connotation which the word *populus* carried by the late Republic, often in opposition to the distinctly non-martial label *Quirites* (a word typically derived from an association with the *curiae*).⁵²

Politics

Central Italian politics during the seventh and early sixth centuries also exhibited evidence of the larger dichotomy which seems to have existed between the region's heterogeneous but burgeoning urban populations and the more hierarchical clan-based units. At the top of the social and political hierarchy in Rome, Latium, and central Italy more generally, were the aristocratic clans whose leaders formed the region's elite and who ruled by virtue of the economic and military strength which their gentilicial structures imparted. Although effectively independent entities, in Latium these kinship units seem to have formed a loose federation which was eventually formalized with the creation of the Latin Council or Latin League, possibly alongside representatives from various communities, and seems to have been based on social, military, and religious ties.⁵³ The council, or at least the archaic "proto-council," was supposedly formed

⁵⁰ See Cornell 1995b: 256–258 for a similar argument, where Cornell also argued that the *conscripti* of the early senate represented another aspect of this "intermediary" group, between the patricians and the plebeians (however, Cornell believed that the senate, and indeed the Roman state, existed in something resembling its late republican form from the late sixth century). See also Ridley 1968 for similar views, and Smith 2006: 275–280 for an opposing position and discussion. See Chapters 3 and 5 for various examples of this intermediary group.

⁵¹ The patron-client relationship in early Rome was very different from that in the late Republic, as evidenced by its legal character in the early period (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.10, *The Twelve Tables* 8.21), as opposed to its informal nature in the late Republic (see Brunt 1988 and Wallace-Hadrill 1990 for an overview). However, the reference to the relationship in *The Twelve Tables* demonstrated that at least one part of the relationship may have included the plebs or proto-plebs. Table 8.2 listed a prohibition on wronging a client, noting that *patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*. While the phrase *sacer esto* was used with respect to any sacred law (Festus 422L), it was most commonly associated with the protection of the plebeians in this early period, and indeed the tribunes of the plebs were protected by a *lex sacrata* (see Cornell 1995b: 259 for discussion). It also represented a very different relationship from that of the *sodales*, which was probably between equals (see Chapter 3). See also Cornell's argument for the position of *clientes* in early Rome between the patricians and plebeians (Cornell 1995b: 291).

⁵² See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

⁵³ The religious connections between early Latin elites were perhaps the most evident, as they dedicated temples as a unit (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.26) and participated in a variety of regular religious festivals (Smith 2005: 80). Grave goods also hinted at a strong social and cultural cohesion

after the destruction of Alba Longa by Tullius Hostilius in the seventh century and met annually until 340.⁵⁴ Although historians writing in the late Republic clearly believed that this council was made up of various communities throughout its existence,⁵⁵ anecdotal evidence (albeit highly problematic), most notably the account of Tarquinius Superbus at the council recorded in Livy,⁵⁶ suggests that the council may have originally been predominantly a collection of gentilicial leaders which met to sort out disagreements and possibly confirm social contracts.⁵⁷ Additionally, the council was linked to the foundation of a temple to Diana on the Aventine by Servius Tullius in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, citing a bronze inscription, claimed that the temple was associated with a general council for the arbitration of disputes.⁵⁸ The association between the council and the foundation of a temple is noteworthy, because this type of activity was typically associated with individual aristocratic families during the late regal and early republican periods, further suggesting a gentilicial character for this body.⁵⁹ Consequently, although likely the effective leaders of various communities, the gentilicial power base of these elites meant they would likely have made decisions based on the needs of their *gens*, and not necessarily the community as a whole.⁶⁰

Beneath, and largely separate from this elite, gentilicial political system, the population of each settlement seems to have governed itself

among the elite throughout central Italy, as almost identical grave goods, most notably “*Sicilian*” fibulae, have been unearthed in wealthy graves across the region (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 243).

⁵⁴ Liv. 1.28; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.23–28; Festus 276L.

⁵⁵ Festus 276 L; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25. ⁵⁶ Liv. 1.50–52.

⁵⁷ An alternate explanation might be that the council was made up of representatives from communities, who would have naturally been powerful elites. However, if this was the case then there is no evidence to suggest that they ever represented the communities’ wishes, as they are universally described as acting in their own interests. Festus recorded that the council met annually to “consider the usual things, and administer *imperium* in the common council” (Festus 276L). Ampolo’s “open society,” with its exogamous marriage customs, would have required a certain level of interaction between various kinship groups which this type of council would have provided, similar to tribal gathering in other proto-urban cultures (see Bahn 1997). Note also the strong similarities between this model and that of the Samnite Leagues, which were federal associations of tribes inhabiting Samnium (Salmon 1967: 41).

⁵⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.26.

⁵⁹ Temple dedication during the regal period is problematic, as it is uncertain whether anyone other than the *rex* was able to dedicate a temple and whether, when they did so, they were acting as an individual or on behalf of the state. However, given the ability of aristocratic individuals to build and dedicate temples in the mid and late Republic and the evidently personal nature of some early dedications (see particularly the Lapis Satricanus), it is likely that temple building was not solely the duty of the *rex*. This interpretation is based, however, on the interpretation that the *rex* was, first and foremost, a gentilicial leader (see Chapter 3).

⁶⁰ See Chapter 3 for an example of this in relation to Rome’s *rex*.

using an assembly-based system.⁶¹ Exemplified by the enigmatic curiate system in Rome, this political structure consisted of various geographic and quasi kinship-based divisions. In Rome, the curiate system ostensibly contained three tribal units, each divided into ten *curiae*.⁶² Although this structure represented the proto-urban community and contained a strong geographic element, since it distinguished between the *curiae* and the rural *pagi*, the weight of evidence indicates that its internal divisions may have originally been based on roughly kinship-based divisions as well – a fact which is unsurprising given the importance of these connections in Latin society.⁶³ The exact function and power of the archaic *curiae* are uncertain at best, but the assembly's later role in presiding over various inaugurations of both *reges* and *flamines*, ratifying wills, and voting on adoptions and *transitio ad plebem*, all indicate a decidedly domestic role.⁶⁴

Although largely separate, and indeed the groups involved seem to have functioned in very different ways and with very different goals, these two political systems did interact through the office of the *rex*.⁶⁵ This relationship typically involved a powerful member of the gentilicial elite,⁶⁶ supported by his clan, *sodales*, and other followers and *clientes*, dominating the foreign policy of the community, in addition to assuming certain religious and judicial roles, usually with the express permission of the local

⁶¹ The one exception to this may have been the archaic senate. It is likely that some form of the senate did exist at this point, although it is entirely uncertain what the character of this early body would have been, and whether it would have existed as part of the community-based or aristocratic socio-political system. Evidence suggested that these sorts of bodies were in place in various communities in Latium by at least the late sixth century, representing important families and units in a community (see, for instance, Sextus Tarquinius' integration into the council of elders at Gabii in Chapter 3). Given the early senate's typical association with the *rex* in Rome (for instance, Festus 290L), it is possible that the archaic senate represented a smaller sub-group of the Latin Council (i.e. a mobile elite who happened to be based in and around Rome). Additionally, it is also possible that the early senate represented a collection of early Roman (i.e. community-based) aristocrats, which later expanded to include Latium's increasingly sedentary elite.

⁶² Liv. 1.13; 1.42–44.

⁶³ This is supported by what appear to be rough kinship groupings in Latin burial patterns (see Bietti Sestieri 1992: 221–243) and possible literary evidence (most notably Laelius Felix's assertion that *curiae* voted by *genera hominum* (Gell. NA 15.27), see above for discussion).

⁶⁴ See Smith 2006: 210–215 for discussion.

⁶⁵ Given the loaded nature of the term “king,” which comes with a wide range of cultural connotations (many of which do not apply to the Roman *rex*), the term *rex* will be used throughout the present study in order to avoid ambiguity and misrepresentation.

⁶⁶ Although none of the Roman *reges* had a concrete patrician lineage (though Numa had strong connections), indicating a distinctively aristocratic identity in traditional Roman terms, all would have been part of Latium's aristocracy simply by virtue of their military and economic power. Indeed, patrician identity seems to have emerged as a concrete, hereditary concept only in the mid to late fifth century.

population.⁶⁷ The literary evidence is unanimous on the existence of the *rex* and the inscription from the archaic *cippus* beneath the *Lapis Niger* in the Forum Romanum provides archaeological support for its presence in Rome from at least the sixth century and likely earlier. The power of the *rex*, particularly as embodied by the grant of *imperium*, will be discussed in detail later. However, some broad points are worth noting in this context, and again the parallel with early medieval society may be illuminating. As with many medieval elites, despite an origin which was often from within the same culture and society, the political domination of Latin settlements by members of the central Italian elite during the seventh and sixth centuries seems to have been both ephemeral and largely superficial. While the literary tradition maintained that certain families were able to dominate the position, with both Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius being from the same family,⁶⁸ as were Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus,⁶⁹ the office was not necessarily inherited by the previous holder's immediate descendants, but open to anyone who was willing and able to take it. Indeed, the literary evidence portrays the Roman office of *rex* as open to a wide range of individuals from various locations and groups, with the primary requirement evidently being personal power and prestige.⁷⁰ As a result, the domination of the settlement by a particular family often did not last longer than the life of the initial ruler.⁷¹ The reason for the ephemeral nature of this dominance may have been related to the independent and potentially mobile nature of the *gentes* during the period. This independence is hinted at in the evident separation from Latin settlements which the *gentes* demonstrated in their burial practices from at least the seventh century, while the literary sources for Latium during the sixth and fifth centuries clearly illustrate a strong tradition of mobility among the powerful clans, with *gentes* and clan leaders able to move about the region on a regular basis, an activity perhaps best exemplified in the late sixth and

⁶⁷ See Vliet's discussion of legitimacy and the relationship between the ruling elite and the community of early Rome (Vliet 1990: 233–257).

⁶⁸ Liv. 1.32. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 1.46.

⁷⁰ Three Roman *reges* had an association with Rome prior to their ascension; however, none went back farther than two generations. Tullius Hostilius was arguably the grandson of Hostius Hostilius, the great Roman champion (Liv. 1.22). Ancus Marcius was supposed to be the grandson of Numa Pompilius, Rome's second *rex*, although Numa was himself from the Sabine town of Cures. Tarquinius Priscus was either the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus (*ibid.* 1.46), who was from Tarquinia (*ibid.* 1.34).

⁷¹ The exact period of domination by various clans/*gentes* is problematic, given the troubled chronology of the regal period in general, the fictive nature of the early Roman *reges*, and the incredibly long reign of each *rex*. However, the tradition is unanimous that the office of *rex* was not based on direct descent, but rather immediate power.

fifth centuries by the figures of Appius Claudius and Coriolanus.⁷² Such mobility led to a very fluid power balance in the region, with powerful clan leaders and their followers moving between settlements, challenging the existing aristocracy or stepping in to fill a power vacuum. Although the accounts of Rome's *reges* are notoriously problematic, the change between regal families could be represented as being relatively peaceful, as was evident in the ascension of both Numa Pompilius and Tarquinius Priscus, or in the form of violent coups, as with the last *rex* in Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, who claimed the title of *rex* after violently usurping the power of Servius Tullius. Additionally, there is the variation of the origin of Servius Tullius espoused by the Emperor Claudius, which claimed that Servius Tullius was originally the shadowy Macstarna, who claimed the title of *rex* in Rome, presumably from the previous *rex* Tarquinius Priscus, using the army of Caeles Vibenna.⁷³

The transient nature of the Latin *rex*'s power suggests that power among the gentilicial elite in general was highly individualistic. Although there is evidence to support the inheritance of power (which should be understood as consisting of both wealth and followers) within a *gens*, it is also evident that direct lineage was only one of many considerations, with one of the most important principles in inheriting power in this period being military ability.⁷⁴ The sons of Ancus Marcius were evidently not able to lay claim to their father's power base after his death, perhaps because they were not yet fully grown (i.e. of military age).⁷⁵ Additionally, the myth of Macstarna inheriting the army of Caeles Vibenna also demonstrates the inheritance of power within what may represent a *gens*-based structure, where the relationship was clearly not of direct lineage.⁷⁶ This strong tradition of power being linked to an individual's ability in martial pursuits, even within the inheritance structure of a *gens*, suggests that this may have also been the rule among the gentilicial elite more generally, with the position of *rex*, and the fundamental right to power, being granted in part by the simple ability to seize it – although the curiate election and the passing of the *lex curiata*

⁷² Appius Claudius (Liv. 2.16; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.40); Coriolanus (Liv. 2.30–40; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.20–8.50; Plut. *Cor.*).

⁷³ See Thomsen 1980: 57–118 for a detailed discussion of the variant traditions for the origin of Servius Tullius.

⁷⁴ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 242. ⁷⁵ Liv. 1.35.

⁷⁶ The relationship between Macstarna and Caeles Vibenna is best characterized by the terms *condottieri* (see below) or *sodales*, in that they were companions who seem to have been linked by strong social and religious bonds, in addition to their military association. See Cornell's discussion of this phenomenon (Cornell 1995b: 143–150).

de imperio do suggest that there was slightly more to it than that, as will be discussed later.⁷⁷

Despite their position at the top of the community's power structure, the functions of the *rex* seem to have been largely confined to three major areas: warfare, religion, and justice.⁷⁸ With very few exceptions, the activities of Rome's *reges* and their later descendants the *praetores/consules* were confined to these aspects, although this may be due, in part, to the nature of the stories which were passed down in Rome's oral tradition.⁷⁹ Indeed, the limited role of the Roman *rex* is perhaps best illustrated by the duties performed by its descendant offices under the Republic, with the *praetores* (the early incarnation of the consuls)⁸⁰ taking over the military and judicial aspects of the *rex*, and the *pontifex maximus* and *rex sacrorum* likely assuming many of his religious duties. The office of the *interrex* is also informative for the role of the *rex* in early Rome. The very existence of this office, which filled the gap between the reigns of Rome's *reges* and was utilized during the Republic to conduct problematic consular elections, indicates that despite the fleeting nature of a *rex's* power, and its evident reliance on military strength as the primary source of power, the position performed an important function within Rome and was therefore an office which the population of Rome wanted to have filled. This hints that the *rex* performed essential duties which could not be performed by others. Given the evident ability of individuals and *gentes* to fight conflicts on their own, even under the Republic, it is therefore likely that the *rex* performed a

⁷⁷ There was no obvious preference being given to those of "royal" descent, and indeed Servius Tullius may have been the son of a slave (Liv. 1.39; See Thomsen 1980: 58 for discussion).

⁷⁸ The major exception to this was Servius Tullius, who was credited with making substantial reforms to Rome's political structure. However, the reforms of Servius Tullius were highly problematic for a wide range of reasons (see Chapter 3 and Armstrong 2008 for a brief overview). Additionally, the office of the *Praefectus Urbi*, a position which was supposedly created during the regal period (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.12), suggested that the *rex* may have had some duties which related to the running of the community. This assumes, however, that the duties of the *Praefectus Urbi* related to the urban area of Rome at this early date, a point which is not entirely certain. Although Pomponius hinted at some legal duties (*Dig.* 1.2.2.33), the description offered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus seemed to indicate that the prefect's primary duty was to defend the community and its land in the absence of the *rex/consuls* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.64), a role which placed it back within the more limited purview of the *rex* offered above. Additionally, as the creation of the office was attributed to Romulus (a point which should immediately raise some doubts) and as only one of the three names offered by Tacitus for the regal *Praefecti Urbi* was even remotely plausible (Tac. *Ann.* 11.22, Brennan 2000: 258), it is likely that the office originated during the middle of the fifth century, when five of the eight known early *Praefecti Urbi* were recorded. See Ferenczy 1976: 27–29 for discussion of the connection between the judicial and sacerdotal aspects of the *rex*.

⁷⁹ The early consuls were likely called *praetores* ("leaders"), an archaic title which is preserved in a number of legal and ritual texts (Liv. 7.3; Plin. *NH.* 8.3; Fest. *L161*).

⁸⁰ See Chapter 4 for discussion.

specific religious (and likely political and judicial) function in Rome, and that the office may have, at its core, contained a strong religious element.

The *lex curiata de imperio*, which was passed by the representatives of the community, the curiate assembly, somehow governed the *imperium* of the *rex*,⁸¹ indicating that the power of the settlement was recognized as the ultimate legitimate source of authority for the *rex*.⁸² Additionally, the evident desire by Roman *reges* to placate the community through various actions and gifts, if these aspects of the literary narrative are to be believed, also hinted that the will of the community as a whole was influential.⁸³ That being said, the gentilicial aristocracy was likely dominant in the most practical sense, in that its almost complete monopoly on military power gave it the option to force the occupants of a settlement to do its bidding. Nevertheless, as both the urban and gentilicial systems seem to have had different concerns, different foci (effectively intramural and extramural), largely different populations, and completely different functions, they were able to coexist during this period.

Agriculture

All levels of central Italian society seem to have practiced a mixture of agriculture and pastoralism during the late seventh and early sixth centuries. Faunal and paleobotanical remains from Rome dating to the pre-republican period indicate the predictable presence of both livestock and agricultural production.⁸⁴ Of the domestic animals present in the seventh and early sixth century (which included horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs), pigs were by far the most prevalent, making up a full 40 percent of the remains.⁸⁵ In addition, the domestic livestock was supplemented by a variety of wild animals including red deer, fish, birds, and mussels.⁸⁶ A large number of micro-botanical remains were also found, indicating the presence of cultivated foodstuffs in early sixth century Rome, including the expected cereals and pulses.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Although the nature of the *lex curiata de imperio* and its ultimate function, particularly in the Republic, is highly problematic, the *curiae* would have controlled the *imperium* of the *rex* in Rome through either his initial election or the passing of the *lex* in the traditional second vote – making this debate largely moot in this context.

⁸² See Vliet for a discussion of legitimization in early Rome (Vliet 1990: 234–235).

⁸³ The presence of the *lictors*, which were representatives of the curiate assembly, as an outward symbol of *imperium* (see later in this chapter and Chapter 3) indicated that the constant support of the population was a necessary part of the social contract which bound the *rex* and the community.

⁸⁴ Kampen *et al* 2005: 752 ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: 752. ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 751. ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 752.

Mazzorin's study of faunal remains from the archeological record of various settlements in central Italy along the Tyrrhenian Sea, and particularly Etruria and Latium Vetus,⁸⁸ provides important evidence for the agricultural practices of archaic Latium. Mazzorin argued for the presence of several distinct trends in animal husbandry in Latium. Based on his analysis of animal remains from a variety of sites (including Rome, Ficana, Cerveteri, Populonia, Montecatino, etc.) Mazzorin opined that by the late Bronze Age, the breeding of cattle and sheep was the most prevalent type of husbandry in Latium, making up approximately 80 percent of the remains, with pig remains forming the other 20 percent.⁸⁹ However, during the early Iron Age evidence for pig breeding began to intensify at various proto-urban sites, and by the period between the seventh and fifth centuries the percentage of pig remains across Latin sites had risen to 32.5 percent, with some settlements registering levels as high as 45 percent.⁹⁰ Evidence for the breeding of pigs only increased in subsequent centuries, with the third century seeing porcine remains making up close to 50 percent of animal remains, and reaching its peak under the Empire when pig bones averaged over 70 percent of the total faunal evidence.⁹¹ As cattle and sheep breeding is characteristic of societies which practice limited transhumance pastoralism, and pig rearing is more typical of urban or settled communities,⁹² Mazzorin's analysis supported a model wherein Latin agriculture was dominated by limited transhumance pastoralism until the seventh century, when more settled forms of agriculture began to develop.

Detailed archaeological evidence for the development of agriculture and economy is generally scarce in Latium, although there is a large amount of indirect evidence supporting the basic model presented by Mazzorin. As Attema noted following his excavations at the settlement of Caracupa/Valvisciolo, the settlement emerged during the early Iron Age and experienced gradual growth during the later Iron Age and Orientalizing periods. This growth accelerated during the archaic period, possibly as a result of increased agricultural production, eventually reaching a considerable size.⁹³ By the early sixth century, it is clear that the economies of these settlements were based largely on agricultural production,⁹⁴ although many centers (including Caracupa/Valvisciolo) went into

⁸⁸ *Latium Vetus* refers to the area which represented the core of archaic Latin settlement, bounded to the northwest by the Tiber and Anio rivers, and to the east and south by a line running from Antium, though Satricum, to Praeneste (Cornell 1979-1980: 71).

⁸⁹ Mazzorin 2001: 327. ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 328. ⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 328. ⁹² *Ibid.*: 325-327.

⁹³ Attema 1990: 91. ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 91.

decline or disappeared by the end of the fifth century, possibly as a result of the influx of migrating peoples from Italy's mountainous interior.⁹⁵

Although not located in Latium itself, evidence from the Faliscan settlement of Narce in Southern Etruria provides some of the most detailed evidence for agricultural practices in central Italy during the period, and offers a useful parallel for communities in Latium.⁹⁶ In both modern and ancient Narce the economy represents a mixture of agriculture and pastoralism, although the relationship between these two activities experienced a dramatic shift during the early centuries of the first millennium BC.⁹⁷ During the late Bronze Age and proto-Villanovan period, the economy at Narce was dominated by pastoralism, with evidence for large numbers of sheep, goats, and pigs, in addition to cattle, and only limited agricultural production, which was dominated by legumes.⁹⁸ The climate and geography of central Italy mean that there are very few permanent pastures in the region, with most pastures only being able to be utilized efficiently during the spring and fall.⁹⁹ As a result, the inhabitants of this region generally practiced limited transhumant pastoralism, with the population based in one area, but sending their flocks and herds into the Apennines during the summer in search of fresh pasture.¹⁰⁰ Barker argued that, during the final centuries of the second millennium, this pastoral economy adapted to the particular constraints of central Italy, as it seems to have remained in place, virtually unchanged, until the beginning of the first millennium AD.¹⁰¹

Although the region's pastoral economy remained relatively static, the beginning of the settlement intensification which marked the eighth century coincided with a shift in the balance between agriculture and pastoralism in central Italy. While the amount of livestock at central Italian sites like Narce remained fairly stable throughout the period of occupation, and may have experienced a slight increase, beginning in the eighth century the settlement witnessed a sudden boom in the production of cereals such as wheat, barley, rye-grass, and green brittle-grass, which had begun to appear during the tenth century, but represented a minimal contribution to the agricultural production of the settlements until this period.¹⁰² Jarman argued that these new agricultural products, and possibly new agricultural techniques – such as the shortening of the length of fallow periods in fields – were introduced in conjunction with the increase in

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: 91. ⁹⁶ Potter 1976 ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 6–7. ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 302. ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: 303.

¹⁰⁰ This principle is still practiced in the modern settlement of Narce (*ibid.* 6–7).

¹⁰¹ Barker 1981 ¹⁰² See Potter 1976: 309 for a chart of plant remains at the site of Narce.

population brought about by settlement intensification.¹⁰³ Although definitive archaeological evidence for increasing agricultural production in the seventh century is lacking, the stability of the animal population in most central Italian communities during the period,¹⁰⁴ coupled with the link between increased agricultural production and settlement growth during the eighth century, indicates that these developments should probably be seen as being linked and that the settlement growth of the seventh and early sixth centuries resulted in a commensurate increase in agricultural production to make up the difference.

As with the social and political structures of the region, by the seventh century the economy of central Italy was also divided into two separate levels. While it is likely that both the proto-urban and gentilicial populations practiced variations of the mixed economy, the potential mobility of the *gentes* may have limited the amount of investment which they were willing to put into large-scale, sustained agricultural production – and indeed there is limited evidence for this type of activity (*cuniculi*, permanent rural structures, etc.) in the hinterland of Latium until the fifth and fourth centuries. This seeming contradiction may be explained by the tradition in Roman scholarship which has argued for opposing tendencies in the economy of early Rome, where the economy of the poor urban population was originally centered around agrarian principles, while the gentilicial elite were more pastoral.¹⁰⁵ This position, which was first advanced by Piganiol and has found a more recent advocate in De Martino,¹⁰⁶ does seem to go some way toward explaining the conflicting traditions for the economy of early Rome, where the laws of *The Twelve Tables* clearly indicated an agrarian society,¹⁰⁷ but the Roman elites

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*: 308–310. ¹⁰⁴ See chart in *ibid.*: 305–307.

¹⁰⁵ Cornell's arguments against these conflicting tendencies, which were based largely on the absence of pastoralism in *The Twelve Tables* (Cornell 1995b: 288), are unconvincing. First and foremost, an argument based on negative evidence is always problematic, but this type of argument is particularly difficult when dealing with early Rome. With regard to *The Twelve Tables*, the text of this early code has only been preserved in the form of assorted references in the works of later authors (most notably Cicero, among others), and because pastoralism was not practiced in Rome (at least not on a large scale) during the middle and late Republic it might be considered natural that it does not appear in these later references. Additionally, *The Twelve Tables* seem to have been intended to regulate the relationship between the elite and urban populations of early Roman society. While it is possible (although not necessarily certain) that Roman territory included the early rural tribes in a formal manner, placing the increasingly sedentary, rural *gentes* under the power of this code, the primary focus of this interaction is likely to have been within the confines of Rome, and as the only economy within Rome was that of the agrarian urban population (as the elite's pastoralism was conducted outside of the community), it is only right that this should be the primary focus on legislation.

¹⁰⁶ Piganiol 1917, De Martino 1979. ¹⁰⁷ See Cornell 1995b: 287–288.

themselves often emphasized their pastoral origins.¹⁰⁸ While it would be ill-advised to push these distinctions too far (the gentilicial elite were by no means nomadic pastoralists!), and it is probable that all segments of Latin society were involved in a mixed economy, the focus on particular aspects of the economy by segments of the population, depending on their social and cultural circumstances, was highly likely.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, it should be noted that although these broad behavioral trends do seem to hold true, there was likely a significant amount of variation within each group as well, with some *gentes* focusing more on agriculture than others and some members of the urban communities favoring pastoralism and more mobile pursuits.

Trade

Interregional trade, and Latium's key position on the trade routes between the Greek communities of Magna Graecia and the Etruscan communities of the north, played a significant role in the development of early Latin society. From the tenth century onwards trade routes through central Italy were pivotal in determining the settlement patterns in southern Italy, Latium, and Etruria.¹¹⁰ In Latium this was evidenced by a marked shift away from the relatively isolated settlements in the Alban Hills and an increased focus on settlements along the coastal route and Sacco–Liri river valley. Although it is likely that basic trade networks, both inter- and intra-regional in nature, existed in Latium as far back as the late Bronze Age, from the eighth century onwards there is evidence for the presence of surplus production in Latin communities, coinciding with the period of synoecism and settlement intensification, which may be associated with an expansion in production and exchange. Most notably, the discovery of both worked and unworked metal at almost every site in Latium suggests the development of a metallurgical industry within the region, with the eighth century bronze hoard from Ardea demonstrating the massive quantities possible at a single site.¹¹¹ Additionally, the eighth century witnessed the introduction of mass-produced wheel-made ceramics, which quickly supplanted domestically produced, hand-made ware throughout the region, indicating a vibrant local trade network.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Cic. *Rep.* 2.60; Liv. 4.30; Festus 220L.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, Motta's work has suggested a high urban dependence on grain (Motta 2011: 245–255).

¹¹⁰ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 73–75, Smith 1996: 122. ¹¹¹ Forsythe 2005: 56, Smith 1996: 120.

¹¹² Cornell 1979–1980: 75, Forsyth 2005: 56.

The relative independence and mobility of Latium's burgeoning gentilicial elite in the eighth and seventh centuries likely facilitated the increased interregional contact and the massive expansion in trade evident in the period, particularly with the Greek communities of the south, ushering in the so-called Orientalizing period.¹¹³ Although all of Latin society was affected by the increase in trade, it seems to have particularly important for the region's elite clans as trade items increasingly formed a crucial part of elite self-representation and are most often found in elite graves dating to the period. The seventh century also witnessed the emergence of what seem to be specialist traders and the development of mercantile systems within various communities located along the major trade routes through the region, for instance Satricum, Ficana and particularly at Rome.¹¹⁴ Very little is known about these systems and how they operated, though they seem to have contained foreign elements alongside individuals from the local communities and the local *gentes*.¹¹⁵ Part of a complex set of relationships which likely involved not only economics, but also religion (given that much of the evidence for foreign traders comes from sanctuaries) and warfare (as raiding for, and protection of, trade items quickly emerges as a high priority), trade seems to have become an increasingly important part of gentilicial life.

There is also evidence for increased production in various Latin communities during this period. Although it is likely that the region's urban centers were always centers of production to a certain extent, albeit on a local scale and largely for local consumption, the seventh century saw the beginnings of serious industry at several sites in the region. Rome in particular seems to become a major production site for terracotta, and specifically roof tiles, during the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC, largely by exploiting the clay beds of the Velabrum.¹¹⁶ Perhaps linked to the introduction of new technology and techniques from the east, likely brought to Rome (and Latium more generally) via trade with the Greeks of Magna Graecia, the development of Latium's urban centers into major productive zones, in addition to their role as marketplaces for local,

¹¹³ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 70–75. This increased contact and trade was not wholly, or indeed even primarily, the result of the movement of groups and/or individuals from Latium as this period also witnessed an influx of foreigners (predominantly Greek and Phoenicians) who ventured into the region looking for mineral wealth and trading opportunities (Smith 1996: 108).

¹¹⁴ See Tandy 1997 for a more general discussion of archaic economies and the role and relationship of both traders and elites in this type of system.

¹¹⁵ Concrete evidence for foreigners in Rome and Latium seems to begin in the seventh century, although this does not rule out their presence previously (Smith 1996: 108).

¹¹⁶ See Ammerman *et al.* 2008 and 2009, and also Winter 1993.

regional, and inter-regional trade, can be given some of the credit for their dramatic increase in prominence and size during the period.¹¹⁷

Although Latium's long distance trade network was likely relatively unsophisticated, and did not resemble the mature systems of other trading cultures with complex mechanisms for collection and redistribution of items and wealth,¹¹⁸ it did allow Latium's local aristocracy, both gentilicial and urban, to become significant players in the larger central Italian economy by the sixth century.¹¹⁹ The focus on portable wealth and trade goods contrasts sharply, however, with elite habitation practices. As Waarsenburg noted, despite the presence of lavish burials for the aristocracy and evidence for contemporary types of more permanent architecture,¹²⁰ elite habitation, particularly in and around urban centers, seems to have been relatively simple and temporary during the archaic period,¹²¹ although it is always dangerous to argue from negative evidence. As central Italy entered the sixth century, however, it experienced gradual decline in the use of portable wealth and grave goods as signs of elite status. This is likely the result of a range of factors, including changing burial practices and an economy which increasingly favored display of wealth in public works and eventually, in the late sixth century and fifth century, habitation and "villas."¹²² Additionally, the increasing importance of communities as hubs of trade and production seems to have led to the increased importance of land as a commodity, in particular land near burgeoning communities. This resulted in members of the gentilicial elite becoming increasingly settled, particularly toward the end of the sixth century (although it was a long process which continued well into the fifth century), and an increase in power for various local families which were able to control this up-and-coming resource.

Warfare

During the seventh and early sixth centuries, central Italian warfare was dominated by the region's clans. Excavations of central Italian cemeteries and tomb sites have revealed that military equipment was associated only

¹¹⁷ Ammerman in particular has explicitly made the connection between the growth of Rome's pottery industry c. 600 BC and Greek technology through Demaratus of Corinth and his son Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth rex of Rome. (Ammerman *et al.* 2008: 27)

¹¹⁸ Smith 1987: 53–67 ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* ¹²⁰ See Brandt 2001 for discussion.

¹²¹ Waarsenburg 2001: 178–188. See also Brandt 2001: 411 for a summary of habitation practices in archaic Latium. Stone houses only began to replace huts on a consistent basis during the seventh century, most notably at sites like Ficana and Satricum (Smith 1996: 111).

¹²² *Ibid.*: 150–184. See Terrenato 2001 for a discussion of early villas.

with what have been described as “aristocratic clan units,” and there is no indication that warfare was practiced by any but the socio-economic elite within these groups.¹²³ Additionally, the burial of elaborate military equipment in a few outstanding aristocratic male graves, which include chariots and full bronze panoplies, indicated a formalization of social, political and economic power in the hands of a few aristocratic leaders. That this power was expressed using military items is therefore important, as it indicated that these were seen as distinctively aristocratic items, and warfare a distinctively elite pursuit, during this period.¹²⁴

The basic unit of warfare during the seventh and sixth centuries was therefore likely to have been the clan or *gens*. Although Christopher Smith’s recent work on the subject has revealed how hard it is to say anything with certainty about Rome’s archaic clans or *gentes*, and particularly during this very early period, the existence of hierarchical, kinship-based groups in necropoleis across central Italy, which also seem to have maintained a monopoly on displays and depositions of military equipment, clearly supports this sort of interpretation.¹²⁵ This is also a point where the literature, for all of its bias toward a strong state and unified army, seems to agree with the archaeology – at least outside of Rome – as the sources are full of instances of aristocratic clans and warbands active during the early regal period. However, particularly in the military sphere, it is also clear the clan or *gens* should not be defined strictly in terms of kinship, as both the literature and the archaeology hint that the armies of the *gentes* were composed of a wide range of figures, including not only those linked by direct lineage and kinship, but also *sodales* and a variety of followers and clients (*clientes*), which may have varied depending on the immediate personal power of the warlord.¹²⁶ These extra-familial members of the *gens*, which were linked to the core kinship group by various combinations of social, economic, military and religious ties, provided the additional manpower to make the *gentes* effective military units.¹²⁷

¹²³ The eighth and seventh centuries witnessed a shift in burial customs in Latium, with the systematic presence of weapons in rich male burials, and the sudden appearance of large numbers of graves with no grave goods at all (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 242).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*: 242. ¹²⁵ Smith 2006.

¹²⁶ See Cornell’s discussion of *condottieri* (Cornell 1995b: 143–150), and Bietti Sestieri’s evidence for high-status foreign individuals in aristocratic clan burial areas in addition to associated low status figures (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 221–240).

¹²⁷ Although it is possible that the 300 Fabii at the Cremera River were members of a large, extended family, the 4,000 followers (Livy claims 2,500, Liv. 3.15–18) of Appius Herdonius (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.14–17) clearly indicated that a significant number of extra-familial warriors was often included. While little can be drawn from these specific numbers (which undoubtedly represent

This use of the *gens* as the basic aristocratic military unit continued into the early Republic. Although the settlement gradually emerged as the hub of both warfare and foreign policy during the late sixth and fifth centuries, the activity of the Fabii in the 470s and the attempted coup by Appius Herdonius and his followers in 460 both illustrate the continuation of the strong tradition of personal, *gens*-based armies in central Italy.¹²⁸

While it is likely that these aristocratic warbands were largely independent from both each other and the region's communities, it is clear that warfare was limited, or at least regulated, by various social and/or cultural rules. While the *fetiales* arguably represented a community-based tradition which functioned to regulate warfare between the various settlements in Latium, it is probable that some sort of dispute arbitration existed for the mobile elite as well.¹²⁹ The Latin Council, or some earlier version of it, may have filled this role as Dionysius claimed one of the primary duties of its members was to arbitrate disputes.¹³⁰ While it is possible that the Council maintained a much tighter control over warfare than simple arbitration, as Festus recorded that the Council would administer *imperium*, this is likely to be a reference to the Latin Council as it existed in the late fourth century, when the Latin League represented a slightly more cohesive body, and not the early sixth century.¹³¹

Despite this aristocratic dominance of warfare, there was some level of community involvement in the sixth century BC and earlier. The Roman *curiae* have often been argued to have had some basic military associations, although the evidence is tenuous at best.¹³² As Momigliano postulated, there is no evidence that the *curiae* ever functioned as military units,¹³³

exaggerations or fabrications), the presence of extra-familial warriors is likely to have been integral part to the military strength of a *gens*.

¹²⁸ Fabii (Liv. 2.50). Appius Herdonius (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.14–17; Liv. 3.15–18). See also Cornell 1995b: 145.

¹²⁹ Despite their competition, kinship groups were able to live in relative peace, at least within individual communities, because despite the association between clans and certain locations and areas, there is a complete absence of definitive boundaries around their burial grounds. (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 210)

¹³⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.26.

¹³¹ Festus 276L. The use of the word *imperium* is problematic in the context of the early Latin Council, because the early nature of this power is still ambiguous. *Imperium*, as it existed in the late Republic, was largely concerned with military and judicial matters (see Lintott 1999: 96; Cic. *Leg.* 3.8) and seems to have represented the official and religious permission to conduct military actions for the state. In this form, it is likely that the administering of *imperium* by the Latin Council represented its activity in the fourth century. If early *imperium* simply represented a ritualized sanctioning of warfare, and not necessarily the granting of power to an individual to lead the combined forces of the league, then this may have fallen into the purview of the early Latin Council and its arbitration of disputes.

¹³² See Smith 2006: 208–210 for discussion. ¹³³ Momigliano 1963: 112.

however, Festus suggested that the original *celeres*, or proto-*equites*, were elected from the *curiae*, 10 from each,¹³⁴ and Livy and Dionysius noted that the *curiae* supplied a century each for the early Roman army, with a resultant force of 3000 infantry plus 300 cavalry.¹³⁵ However, the *curiae* and the *Quirites* also seem to have had a strong civilian connotation throughout the Republic, as Caesar used the term when addressing his army to deny them their military status,¹³⁶ and it is often found in opposition to the term *populus*, which is traditionally associated with the army.¹³⁷ Smith has therefore argued that the military aspects of the *Quirites*, and the deity *Quirinus*, may actually be associated with the preparation and declaration of war rather than its conduct.¹³⁸ As a result, while it is likely that the community provided a base of support for the aristocracy, a source of followers, and a possible emergency reserve of manpower, the most important community involvement in warfare seems to have been the issuing of the *lex curiata*, or the law passed by the *curiae* which somehow governed the *imperium* of the *rex*. *Imperium* represented one of the fundamental links between the two segments of society in Rome and other Latin settlements, as it gave ritual permission for a particular warlord to act on behalf of the settlement, and therefore represented a social contract, arguably similar to that between the aristocratic warlord with his *sodales* or *clientes*.

Conclusions

The image of Rome at the beginning of the sixth century which the present study adopts is therefore arguably reminiscent of that popular in scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century, where the dualist nature of Roman society was emphasized. While the racially centered view which was most commonly argued then has, quite rightly, fallen out of favor, many of the arguments for the dual nature of Roman society have also been unjustly neglected.¹³⁹ In particular, the clear division in Roman society, between the *gens*-based aristocracy and the settled, proto-urban and urban populations, in addition to the dual nature of Rome's "patrician" and "plebeian" elements during the early Republic (albeit variously construed) hint that Rome, and Latium more generally, was composed of two distinct groups.

¹³⁴ Festus 48L. ¹³⁵ Liv. 1.43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.13. ¹³⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 70.

¹³⁷ Smith 2006: 200. ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*: 201.

¹³⁹ See Richard 2005 for a detailed discussion of the current state of this dualist approach.

Rome's position in Latium also bears some discussion. Although archaeological evidence suggests that Rome emerged as a distinct entity during the ninth and eighth centuries, the aristocracy at Rome seems to have represented a more ambiguous and amorphous presence in and around the city which only began to solidify as the distinctively Roman "patriciate" in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. As a result, while the urban community at Rome may have begun to develop a distinct, community-based identity from the eighth century onwards, the gentilicial elite of Rome, even as late as the early sixth century, would probably be best characterized as simply "Latin," or possibly even "central Italian."¹⁴⁰ The presence of this pan-central Italian gentilicial aristocracy would have had a dramatic impact on how Rome interacted with other Latin settlements as it may have blurred many of the assumed settlement-based divisions, particularly with regard to military matters, which seem to have been almost entirely under the purview of the more mobile gentilicial elite.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ The strong links between aristocratic burials in Latium and southern Etruria, and particularly Veii, make it problematic to limit this aristocratic unit to Latium (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 221–232).

¹⁴¹ The tradition of *conubium* and *commercium* in Latium (rights of intermarriage and trade between various Latin communities), which were an important part of Roman–Latin interaction until the "Latin settlement" of the late fourth century, is likely to have been a consequence of regular movement by Latium's mobile elite (and indeed other members of Latin society lower down the social order) coupled with this evident blurring of community boundaries during the archaic period. Although it is uncertain exactly when these rights were formalized into the laws known in the late Republic (possibly *c.* 400, coinciding with Rome's emerging self-identification; see Chapter 6), it is likely that they had existed, in practice, from the archaic period onwards, forming a crucial part of Latium's social and cultural constructs.

CHAPTER 3

Rome's regal army (c. 570–509)

The period from c. 570 to 509 covers the traditional reigns of Rome's final two *reges*, Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus, and represents an important phase in both the traditional narrative and "traditional model" for the development of military forces in Rome. Most notably, this period marked the supposed advent of the so-called Servian Constitution, or the reorganization of Rome's military and political framework along geographic and socio-economic lines by Servius Tullius (traditionally thought to have ruled 570–535). This system, although ascribed to the regal period by the literary evidence, was clearly believed to have dictated the nature and makeup of the Roman army down to at least the end of the fifth century (and possibly much later),¹ and represented the foundation upon which the Roman army of the middle and late Republic was supposedly built.

The Servian Constitution supposedly created the first army in Rome which was not based on previously existing social-political divisions,² but on a new set of categories defined by an individual's socio-economic position within the community. The presence of this type of system in the sixth and fifth centuries, and the implicit statements which it made about the nature of Roman society and Roman warfare, governed not only what Rome's military forces were supposed to have looked like and how they interacted with the rest of Roman society, but also constituted the starting point for the rest of early Roman military development. With this system in place many of Rome's later military developments, like the lowering of the property requirements for service and the existence of

¹ The end of the Servian army is very difficult to pinpoint in the literary sources. While it is clear that many of the tenets of the Servian Constitution, and most notably the centuriate assembly, remained in place until the late Republic, it is entirely uncertain when it ceased to have direct military implications.

² See discussion later in this chapter.

varying troop and equipment types, could be seen as minor modifications or variations on a theme. The “Servian” or “Centuriate Army,” and its basis in a particular political assembly, offered a familiar point of reference and a stable foundation for later historians to work from. Given the nature of Roman historiography and the teleological understanding of historical development favored by Roman historians, once this initial, state-centered army was established, all subsequent versions of Rome’s armed forces were required to fit within the neat sequence of progressive developments which culminated in the army of the late Republic.³

As a result of its importance for the development of the Roman army, the present chapter will begin with an analysis of the evidence for the Servian Constitution and the resultant Servian army, ultimately concluding that the military structure likely represented an anachronistic creation of Rome’s second and first century historians. In exploring the remaining evidence for Rome’s armed forces during the second half of the sixth century, the chapter will argue that, contrary to the traditional model, the majority of the evidence suggests that Roman and Latin warfare was characterized by a distinct lack of both state-centered armed forces and community-oriented military goals. Indeed, the period saw the continuation of the archaic way of war with the dominance the region’s powerful warlike clans and the sustained importance of portable wealth as the primary motivation for warfare.

The Servian Constitution

The reforms of Servius Tullius, as presented in the literary sources, represented a seismic shift in the organization of Roman society, changing not only how the early Roman army was recruited and equipped, but also the social, political, and possibly religious divisions of early Roman society.⁴ The previously existing curiate system, which represented the archaic urban settlement of Rome, clearly suggests that the city had achieved a certain degree of unity by its very existence. Nonetheless, the *curiae* themselves seem to have been based on previously existing associations which were likely the result of kinship and/or previous geographic or settlement affiliation.⁵ As a result, while the curiate assembly represented

³ See Ungern-Sternberg 2005 for a discussion of the teleological character of Roman historical writing.

⁴ Liv. 1.42–43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.13–21; Cic. *Rep.* 2.20.

⁵ See later in this chapter for further discussion.

the community of Rome, it did so in what could plausibly be described as a federated arrangement, where each of the previously existing constituent parts (most likely the constituent settlements or perhaps kinship units which had synoecised into the archaic community of Rome) was still represented. The introduction of the Servian Constitution would therefore have represented a watershed moment for Rome, as this system would have created a new set of divisions – along with resultant assemblies – based on new geographic alignments and socio-economic divisions which supposedly superseded the previously existing ones.⁶

The traditional description of the Servian reforms involved both the updating of Rome's regal system of tribes, with the previously existing regal tribes (the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres of Romulus) being transformed into a set of geographic tribes consisting of four urban divisions and a series of rural ones.⁷ The population was also divided into seven distinct socio-economic classes (see Fig. 3.1). The exact relationship between the new tribes and classes in this model is unknown, although it is probable that the two sets of divisions were supposed to work in conjunction with one another.⁸ Within this new structure, it was the new socio-economic classes which were to take the most prominent role in Rome's new military and political institutions. Each socio-economic class was subdivided into groups called centuries, which together formed the *comitia centuriata*,⁹ Rome's new voting assembly.¹⁰ It is worth noting that the

⁶ It should be noted that the Servian Constitution did not remove the existing curiate divisions.

⁷ The exact number, sequence, and chronology of the creation of rural tribes are still hotly debated. See Cornell 1995b: 173–197 for a detailed discussion.

⁸ For instance, Taylor argued that the tribes must have been utilized during the census (Taylor 1957: 340). However, as Taylor herself astutely noted, “the coordination of tribes and centuries would have required a complete reorganization of the centuriate assembly on each of the five occasions from 387 to 299 [BC] when new tribes were added” (*ibid.*: 339). See Chapter 5 for additional discussion and Cornell's hypothesized model for the interaction between the tribes and classes.

⁹ The origin of the term “century” is still unknown. The traditional model held that the term referred to the initial number of men which each century contained (Cornell 1995b: 180). However, this would have required a population equal to or less than 19,300 men at its inception, and given that all of Rome's early census totals are well over 100,000, this suggests that either the Servian Constitution initially included only a small segment of the population (i.e. the patrician elite), or that the term “centuries” related only to the number of men who were recruited for the unit (a point suggested by the description of the previously existing curiate system, where each *curia* was required to send 100 men to the army). It is also possible that it may have referred the original number of units in the Servian system, which may have numbered only 100 instead of 193 (see below).

¹⁰ Howarth argued that during the sixth century the centuriate assembly did not have a political function and was required only for military matters, and consequently the emergence of the assembly as a voting body must have occurred under the early Republic (Howarth 1997: 55–56).

Class	No. of Centuries	Required Wealth (Livy – asses, Dionysius – minae)	Assigned Military Equipment
<i>Equites</i> 1st	18 80 + 2 ₂ (40 <i>iuniores</i> and 40 <i>seniores</i>)	100,000(?) ₁ 100,000	Cavalry Helmet, round shield (Livy – <i>clipeus</i> , Dionysius – <i>aspis</i>), greaves, cuirass, sword, and spear (Livy – <i>hasta</i> , Dionysius – <i>doru</i>)
2nd	20 (10 <i>iuniores</i> and 10 <i>seniores</i>)	75,000	Helmet, oblong shield (Livy – <i>scutum</i> , Dionysius – <i>thureos</i>), greaves, sword, and spear
3rd	20 (10 <i>iuniores</i> and 10 <i>seniores</i>)	50,000	Helmet, oblong shield, sword, and spear
4th	20 (10 <i>iuniores</i> and 10 <i>seniores</i>)	25,000	Spear and a light javelin (Livy – <i>verutum</i>) [Oblong shield, sword] ₄
5th	30 + 2 ₃ (15 <i>iuniores</i> and 15 <i>seniores</i> ?)	11,000 [12,500] ₄	Slings and stones [javelin (Dionysius – <i>saunion</i>)] ₄
<i>Capite Censi</i>	1	<11,000 [12,500] ₄	<u>N/A</u>

- ¹ *Equites* were required to be of “highest birth” (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.18), or the “principal men of the State” (Liv. 1.43); however, the text does seem to imply a required level of wealth as well.
- ² The first class included two centuries of engineers; however, it is unknown if these represented one century of engineers for the *iuniores* and one century for *seniores*, or merely two for the *iuniores* – which represented the field army.
- ³ The fifth class included two centuries of trumpeters and supernumeraries; however, it is once again unknown if these were split between the *iuniores* and *seniores* or were only present in the field army of the *iuniores*.
- ⁴ Details in square brackets denote variations present in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ account of the Servian Constitution, but not Livy’s.

Fig. 3.1 The Classes of the “Servian Constitution” derived from the accounts of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus

centuries were not supposed to be indicative of actual population figures and did not each contain the same number of individuals.¹¹ The wealth

¹¹ Our knowledge of early Roman population figures is limited. Beloch collected the census figures for the early Republic (Beloch 1886) that are scattered throughout the literary evidence. All the figures were above 100,000 and were therefore discarded by Beloch as being “greatly exaggerated” (*ibid.*: 216). This position was seconded by Alföldi (1965: 130) and Brunt (1971: 27). However, as the ancient sources repeatedly cited these numbers for early Rome’s population, some, like Frank (1930) and Momigliano (1966: 653), have argued for the veracity of the figures. While this debate has yet to be resolved, it should be accepted that it is unlikely that the centuries related to the population

required for entry into both the *equites* and first class, at least 100,000 *asses* in the traditional narrative,¹² would have limited these groups to a relatively small portion of the population, with the result that their centuries would have contained significantly fewer men than did the centuries of the lower classes.¹³ Nevertheless, of the 193 centuries of the centuriate assembly, the *equites* and first class combined to make up the first hundred, meaning that despite the inclusion of people of varying levels of wealth within the new political system, both Rome's political and military structures in this system were dominated by a small group of the population's social and economic elite.¹⁴

For military purposes, each class was supposedly assigned a particular military panoply and therefore a particular role in the army; however, despite the assertion of some scholars,¹⁵ it is likely that even within the traditional model, equipment was provided by the soldiers themselves and not the state.¹⁶ The core of this army, the eighty (eighty - two if we include

numerically (i.e. that the 193 centuries indicated a population of 19,300, etc.), which indicated that the centuries were rather a way of grouping together certain socio-economic segments of the population into stable groups. This interpretation is also supported by the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus who noted that: "Thus it happened that those who had the largest possessions, being fewer in number but distributed into more centuries, were obliged to serve more often and without any intermission, and to pay greater taxes than the rest; that those who had small and moderate possessions, being more numerous but distributed into fewer centuries, serve seldom and in rotation and paid small taxes, and that those whose possessions were not sufficient to maintain them were exempt from all burdens" (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.19, trans. Cary and Spelman 1963). See Ward 1990 for a more recent discussion of the debate.

¹² Only Dionysius of Halicarnassus stated that the members of the *equites* were also required to have the highest property rating of 100,000 *asses*: "as for the cavalry, he chose them out of such as had the highest rating and were of distinguished birth, forming eighteen centuries of them, and added them to the first eighty centuries of the heavy-armed infantry; these centuries of cavalry were also commanded by persons of the greatest distinction" (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.18, trans. Cary and Spelman 1963). Livy only stated that "Servius enrolled twelve centuries of knights from the leading men of the state. He likewise founded six other centuries – three had been instituted by Romulus – employing the same names which had been hallowed to their use by augury" (Liv. 1.43, trans. Foster 1926).

¹³ The exact economic demographics of early Rome are still largely unknown. Rome and Latium did seem to have a thriving economy during the sixth century, as demonstrated by both the wealthy burials of the early sixth century and the series of temples which were built in the latter half of the century, indicating that high levels of wealth may not have been unusual. Smith noted that the evidence does suggest that this wealth was concentrated in the hand of a few, based on the ways wealth was used during the period and the trends which are evident in the middle and late Republic (Smith 1996: 189). See *ibid.*: 185–202, Viglietti 2011, and Fulminante 2013: 157–170 for a more detailed discussion.

¹⁴ See Chapter 2. ¹⁵ See, for instance, Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 127.

¹⁶ The timocratic Servian Constitution, as it existed under the middle Republic, seems to have been designed to divide the Roman population into classes which could afford to equip themselves in various ways, and it was only under the Gracchan legislation of the 120s that the property qualification dropped below the level at which a soldier could not supply all his own equipment (see Keppie 1998: 61). See Cornell 1995b: 180 for more discussion of Spivey and Stoddart's argument.

the two specialist divisions) centuries of the first Servian class were, according to the literary sources, equipped with round shields, breastplates, helmets, and greaves, all of bronze, along with a spear and sword,¹⁷ and are often assumed to have fought in a hoplite phalanx, which the Romans claimed they had acquired from the Etruscans.¹⁸ The other classes are often thought to have formed auxiliary units which supported this primary phalanx. In addition, the centuries of each class were divided by age into *seniores* and *iuniores*, with the *iuniores*, those men aged seventeen to forty-four, making up the field army and the *seniores*, those aged forty-five and up, making up the home guard or garrison.¹⁹

Although the literary sources tend to agree, in broad terms, on the basic form and organization of both the Servian Constitution and the Servian army,²⁰ the existence of such a set of reforms is still highly problematic. First, there is the simple point that the institution of such an elaborate and revolutionary system in Rome at such an early date, roughly a century after archeological evidence indicates the *Forum Romanum* was created and the final unification of the various disparate settlements on Rome's hills occurred, must raise a certain degree of skepticism. Although there is evidence to suggest an increasingly community-centered focus in Rome during the sixth century, the complete relegation of the *curiae* and the curiate assembly in favor of this type of system is unlikely at this point in Rome's development (during the reign of Rome's second to last *rex*), particularly given the curiate assembly's continued dominance in Roman politics for another century and more. Not only did the *comitia curiata* continue to confer or confirm the grant of *imperium* throughout the republican period, but the assembly also

See Bishop and Coulston 2006: 233–252 for a discussion of the production and distribution of military equipment in the Roman army under both the Republic and Empire.

¹⁷ Liv. 1.43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.18. See the discussion later in this chapter.

¹⁸ *Ineditum Vaticanum* (Armin 1892); Liv. 8.8; Diod. Sic. 22.2; Ath. 6.273.

¹⁹ Cornell argued that the centuries of *seniores* would have contained significantly less men than the centuries of *iuniores*, possibly at a ratio of 1:3 (Cornell 1995b: 180). This would have meant that the each member of the *seniores* would have had a three to one voting advantage over each member of the *iuniores* in the centuriate assembly, although any military burden would have also been subject to the same ratio. This also supports the point that the Servian centuries were not indicative of actual population figures and were instituted to give political power to the wealthy and the older members of Roman society.

²⁰ This agreement among the sources on the basic tenets of the Servian Constitution, and even many of the details, hinted that the descriptions which are in the sources were all ultimately based on one initial description which was found in an earlier history. Based on the nature of the sources used by later historians (and particularly Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) it is possible, if not probable, that this description of the early Servian Constitution originated in the work of Fabius Pictor. See Ungern-Sternberg 2005 for additional discussion of possible sources for Livy and Dionysius.

seems to have maintained its position as the primary voting body in Rome until at least the early fifth century, with the *comitia tributa* (tribal assembly) acquiring its first significant duties in 471, with the Publilian law giving it the right to elect the Tribunes of the Plebs,²¹ and possibly as late as the 440s, when the *comitia centuriata* (centuriate assembly) is first recorded as acting and when the laws of the tribal assembly became binding on the entire community.²² Second, scholars like D'Arms raised concerns about the logic of the composition of the Servian military classes more than half a century ago,²³ and the unlikelihood of them being created as part of a single reform, in particular citing the “addition” of two centuries of engineers to the first class and of two centuries of musicians to the fifth class.²⁴ While this type of concern over the complexity of the system is arguably mitigated by simply stretching the reforms out over a longer period of time and breaking them up into discrete parts, even this minor adjustment to the monolithic aspect of the reforms is problematic as it opens the door for further breaks and adjustments. For instance, if some of the reforms are unlikely to be dated to the reign of Servius Tullius, should any of them be? Apart from their attribution to Servius Tullius by the literary sources, there is very little tying any of these reforms to the sixth century, and indeed there is perhaps more circumstantial evidence linking them to the fifth and fourth centuries than otherwise. Additionally, and in a related point, one must also consider that the Servian classes were supposedly distinguished by means of wealth measured in bronze coinage, which was not in use in Rome until the fourth century, providing further ammunition for those who argue for a later date.²⁵ Indeed, outside of the sections of the narrative specifically devoted to the Servian Constitution, the literature for the late regal and early republican period is full of anecdotes and details which seem to militate against the presence of this type of system, or at the very least suggest a more nuanced approach to it. These range from military issues, like recruitment of men in debt and the use of

²¹ Liv. 2.56; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 9.49.

²² The *curiae* would have still needed to grant *imperium* to Rome's final rex Tarquinius Superbus, which presumably would have made it the most important assembly.

²³ D'Arms 1943: 242–243.

²⁴ Livy uses the word *additae* (Liv. 1.43).

²⁵ Livy himself, when referring to the introduction of the *stipendium militum* in 406, notes that coinage did not exist in Rome even at this late date (Liv. 4.60). See Crawford's discussion of the introduction of coinage in Rome. Crawford noted that uniform pieces of bronze were available in Rome prior to the introduction of coinage; however, he associated the emergence of these bronze *asses* with the introduction of pay for Roman armies in the late fifth century (Crawford 1985: 17–24).

gentes and kinship units in warfare,²⁶ both of which seem to go against the basic socio-economic principles of the system, to more politically oriented issues, such as discrepancies with the number of rural tribes and the questionable existence of various Servian classes during the early republican period.²⁷ Throughout the regal and early republican periods, the literary evidence arguably contradicts the traditional model more than it supports it.²⁸ As a result, it is now generally accepted that the traditional model of the Servian Constitution, as presented in the literary sources, probably did not exist as such in the sixth and fifth centuries.²⁹ The model, which was espoused by Livy, Dionysius, and Cicero, in all probability, represented a combination of Rome's socio-political institutions (most notably the centuriate assembly) as they appeared at a later date, possibly as late as the mid third century (after the final tribes had been added to the *comitia tributa* in 241), coupled with some antiquarian research and, in many cases, what may have amounted to plausible guesswork by later Roman authors.

A variety of alternative interpretations have been put forward to make some sense of the situation. Nilsson argued that the core tenets of the Servian Constitution actually dated to the middle of the fifth century, linking the creation of the timocratic system with the introduction of the office of the censor in 443.³⁰ D'Arms, and more recently Momigliano and Cornell, has suggested that a truncated version of the Servian Constitution was likely adopted during the late regal period, with only the top Servian classes being initially present.³¹ This model is arguably supported by both Festus and Aulus Gellius who, quoting a speech by Cato, noted that the Roman army once contained only one class which represented the first Servian class of later periods.³² Yet the majority of these existing models still rely on the initiation of a prescriptive set of community-based socio-economic requirements which regulated an individual's involvement in military activity during the sixth century, an assumption which is highly problematic given the nature of Roman society at this early date.

²⁶ For recruitment of men in debt see Liv. 2.23–25; 2.30–31; 2.63; 3.30. For the use of *gentes* in warfare see *ibid.* 2.48 and 2.49.

²⁷ See Cornell 1995b: 173–179 for a discussion. ²⁸ See Armstrong 2008 for discussion.

²⁹ This skepticism covers a wide range of positions. Some scholars, taking their cue from the hypercriticism common in the nineteenth century AD (for instance, Niebuhr 1811), viewed large portions of the Servian Constitution as suspect (see De Sanctis 1933: 289–298; Beloch 1926, 270 f.; Sumner 1970, 76 f.), while others have adopted a slightly more optimistic approach (Cornell 1995b: 173–174; Thomsen 1980: 116–117).

³⁰ Nilsson 1929. ³¹ D'Arms 1943; Momigliano 1966: 596; Cornell 1995b: 185.

³² Festus 100L; Aulus Gellius NA VI. 13.

The Servian Constitution: a revised interpretation

Removing, for the moment, the problematic and detailed divisions of the Servian Constitution (the tribes, classes, and centuries), the Servian reforms, at their core, represent a shift in power within the community of Rome, with authority moving away from the *curiae* and toward a centuriate assembly dominated by the community's wealthy, and a tribal assembly, whose early tribes seem to have represented powerful *gentes* alongside the four urban tribes. However, the exact nature of the shift is made highly problematic by the uncertain nature of the archaic *curiae*. As noted above, modern scholarship has traditionally claimed that the *curiae* were based on gentilicial links and they are therefore understood to have included the community's archaic *gens*-based aristocracy, their extended families, and possibly associated clients and followers.³³ As a result, the creation of the Servian Constitution and the centuriate and tribal assemblies, with their focus on wealth and geographic location, has been seen as a redistribution of power among an existing urban population, albeit one which had very little immediate impact (beyond the symbolic act of removing the *gens* as the basic unit of Roman society), as the *gens*-based elite are also understood to have held the vast majority of the wealth.

As Smith has recently suggested, however, the direct association between the *gentes* and the *curiae* is by no means certain.³⁴ Although it seems clear that the *curiae* did have some basis in kinship, a point supported by their apparent power over certain family-based legal activities (most notably adoption, the process of *transitio ad plebem*, and inheritance), a loose notion of kinship present in their religious festivals, in addition to a few problematic descriptions of their political duties (most notably that of Laelius Felix, found in Aulus Gellius),³⁵ the evidence does not support anything beyond a very basic association.³⁶ Furthermore, the link between the aristocratic *gentes* and the *curiae* seems to break down in almost every area for which there is direct evidence, with the religious spheres of the *curiae* and the *gentes* being clearly differentiated, and with very little evidence for any sort of *curiae*-based military activity.³⁷ But while the

³³ This argument is based largely on Aulus Gellius' assertion, apparently derived from Labeo's words in Laelius Felix's commentary on a book by Q. Mucius Scaevola, that the *curiae* were organized *ex generibus hominum* (Gell. *NA* 15.27, see Smith 2006: 210–217 for a detailed discussion of the passage, see also Chapter 2 of this volume for discussion). See Palmer 1970: 2 and Smith 2006 for the pertinent bibliography and a list of scholars who have adopted this position.

³⁴ Smith 2006: 229–234. ³⁵ Gell. *NA* 15.27. See Smith 2006: 210–211. ³⁶ *Ibid.*: 185–234.

³⁷ Smith 2006: 206. Although the sources do claim that the *curiae* were used to recruit men for the army.

evidence for a gentilicial origin is tenuous at best, there is an increasingly strong body of evidence supporting the association between the *curiae* and the archaic urban/proto-urban population of Rome. In particular, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, possibly using Vennonius as a source, claimed that each of the *curiae* had a defensible stronghold, or *pagus*, hinting that they may have been initially associated with the individual communities which synoecised to create the unified community of Rome.³⁸ This argument is supported, albeit tenuously, by the location of the (admittedly few) identified *curiae*, which were within the heart of the archaic city.³⁹ Additionally, there was a strong tradition associating the *curiae* with the processes of amalgamation and synoecism,⁴⁰ and the *curiae* were often described by later Roman authors as representing the earliest incarnation of Rome's archaic urban settlement.⁴¹

As suggested previously, the urban population of archaic Rome seems to have represented a different (although occasionally overlapping) population from the region's more mobile and extramural *gens*-based elite, and it was this urban population which may have developed into the core of the plebeian population in republican Rome.⁴² This association between the *curiae* and the plebeian element of Roman society is also supported by the practices commonly associated with the *curiae*, perhaps surprisingly given the traditionally assumed *gens*-based character of the *curiae*. Most notably, the power of the *curiae* over the *transitio ad plebem* hints strongly that the *curiae* were an inherently civic set of institutions with a strong connection to the plebeian element. But more importantly, the tribunes of the plebs, the original plebeian political leaders, were first elected in the curiate assembly, and only later, in 471, was this duty shifted to the tribal assembly.⁴³ So although the composition of the *comitia curiata* remains

³⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.15. See also Palmer 1970 for additional argumentation for the *curiae* as originating in the Rome's archaic communities. However, Palmer argued that the *curiae* may have represented ethnically distinct units (*ibid.*: 75), which is not supported by the evidence for how the *curiae* were seen in later times, and seems to contradict the "openness" of Latin settlements during the period.

³⁹ Smith 2006: 205.

⁴⁰ For instance, Romulus is recorded as using the *curiae* to incorporate the peoples of Caenina and Antemnae (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.35), a practice also used by Ancus Marcius (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.37), although both of these may also represent anachronistic correlations between the *curiae* and Rome's mid republican tribes. Additionally, the creation of the *curiae* was often associated with the rape of Sabine women and the incorporation of the Sabine people (see particularly Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49; Liv. 1.13).

⁴¹ See Smith for discussion (Smith 2006: 185–234). ⁴² See Chapter 2.

⁴³ Sandberg 1993. See Smith 2006: 224–225 for discussion. See Ogilvie 1965: 380–383 for a contrasting position.

enigmatic, it can be seen as the original seat of plebeian power – although this was clearly not its only aspect.

The association of the *curiae* with Rome's archaic proto-urban and/or plebeian population changes the implications of the Servian reforms dramatically. Rather than simply representing a reorganization of power within Rome's existing population, the Servian Constitution may indicate the advent of a new power structure, and possibly a new population in Rome, which seems to have superseded the *curiae*.⁴⁴ Although the nature of this shift is clouded by the anachronistic nature of the surviving descriptions of the Servian Constitution, the focus of this new power structure on wealth, rough geographic location (increasingly outside of Rome, as indicated by the new rural tribes), and the prominence of military activity within the new system, characterized by warriors equipped in heavy bronze armor, all hint that this new population may have been the region's largely extramural *gentes*, which were slowly beginning to settle permanently in Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries.⁴⁵ Therefore the Servian Constitution, instead of indicating the increased power of the urban center and the decline of the *gentes*, may have actually represented the opposite – a new administrative structure designed to include and give power to the *gentes* who were increasingly settling in and around the city in the sixth and fifth centuries. The timocratic basis of the centuriate assembly would have still favored wealthy individuals within the urban population, but it would also have favored the wealthy clans who had benefited from the interregional trade, and the new tribal divisions clearly favored the extramural entities over the four urban units.

Despite the possible validity of the underlying premise of the Servian reforms, it should be noted that much of the Servian Constitution, as it has been transmitted in the surviving sources, is still likely to represent an anachronistic invention or rationalization based on the system as it existed at a much later date coupled with archaizing tendencies. In particular, the mid sixth century date of the reforms is highly problematic. Although there is evidence to suggest that Latium's regional elite were increasingly creating permanent associations with various communities in Latium during the sixth century,⁴⁶ this development had yet to reach the critical point where the elite, as a group, could create the permanent power structure within a community which usurped the power of the *curiae*, as suggested by the Servian reforms. Things were moving in that direction, as the events surrounding 509 and the creation of the Republic clearly attest, but the

⁴⁴ See Palmer 1970 for curiate-centuriate dualism.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

weight of evidence suggests that the *curiae* and the city's archaic administrative structure remained intact through the end of the century at least. Indeed, despite their increasingly permanent presence in settlements like Rome, the region's *gentes* seem to have maintained a certain degree of mobility throughout the sixth century, indicating that all of these processes were relatively slow.⁴⁷ Additionally, the presence of Rome's final *rex*, Tarquinius Superbus, in the second half of the century, who is recorded as usurping the power of Servius Tullius through military force and whose only source of legitimation was the grant of *imperium* by the *curiae*, suggested that the traditional power of the *curiae* was maintained in Rome throughout the regal period. Rather, the initiation of this type of development is perhaps best associated with the year 509, and the removal of the final Roman *rex* by a federation of elite families, or later in the fifth century BC, particularly in the 440s as suggested by Nilsson.

The prescriptive element of the Servian Constitution is also likely to have represented a fifth or fourth century addition. Given the dominance of clans and so-called *condottieri* in Latin warfare during the period, coupled with the unmonetized nature of the Roman economy in the sixth and early fifth centuries,⁴⁸ it is highly unlikely that a new, prescriptive, economically driven approach to recruitment would be adopted so suddenly. However, as warriors were required to supply their own equipment, a certain base level of wealth would have been required to participate effectively in warfare, creating a *de facto* classification system, with wealthier warriors being able to provide themselves

⁴⁷ This is not to say that the *gens* and the *curia* should be seen as existing in opposition to one another, but rather existing as two distinct socio-political constructs utilized by two different populations. While the *curiae* may have originally represented rough kinship-based groups, they seem to have become associated, at a very early point, with the settled urban and proto-urban communities in Rome and therefore become increasingly geographically centered (see Chapter 2). This early association with geographic areas may have related to agricultural activity or could have been the result of the open immigration policy and the generally small size of the family units in the urban centers (as opposed to the large, extended *gentes*), as the geographic areas allowed for clear identification and affiliation for new members. Conversely, the *gentes* retained their focus on kinship and socio-religious constructs, undoubtedly as a result of the highly-mobile nature of the groups which favored this model. As a result, by the sixth century it would be possible (and indeed likely) that a *curia* could contain a *gens*, or members of a *gens*, and a *gens* contain members of a *curia*, as the necessary qualifications for membership in each group were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, Brutus is recorded as being a *tribunus Celerum* in both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, indicating a role and position within the *curiae* (with which the *Celeres* are typically associated), although he was evidently also part of a reasonably powerful *gens* and played a major role in the removal of Tarquinius Superbus. Therefore, any opposition which exists between the two constructs should be seen as opposition between the aims and goals of the populations which utilize the systems, and not the systems themselves.

⁴⁸ Crawford 1985: 17–24.

with more and better equipment. The geographic aspect of the Servian Constitution may also represent the later standardization of what was originally an *ad hoc* system. For instance, the description of the arrival of the Claudii in the early fifth century does suggest that aristocratic *gentes* were beginning to claim tracts of land which may have eventually become the tribes of the tribal assembly.⁴⁹ However, it is likely that these boundaries remained blurred until at least the late fifth and early fourth centuries, when Rome began to develop more advanced methods of land ownership and distribution.

The aristocracy of Latium

Existing in direct opposition to the overt literary descriptions of Rome's sixth century army, and indeed Roman society and politics, is the strong tradition for the continued presence of independent, warlike clans, often led by so-called *condottieri*,⁵⁰ which continued to dictate much of the warfare in Latium during the sixth century, just as they had done in previous centuries.⁵¹ Like their archaic predecessors, this warlike aristocracy seems to have wielded power of a highly personal nature,⁵² likely based on a combination of gentilicial links, religious affiliation, and military strength.⁵³ These enigmatic figures seem to have moved between communities in Latium (and indeed across much of central Italy),⁵⁴ typically

⁴⁹ Liv. 2.16 (see also Liv. 2.21, 2.44, 4.48 for other references to the early migration of the Claudii).

⁵⁰ See Chapter 2 for use of this term in the context of early Roman society and warfare.

⁵¹ Rawlings suggested (Rawlings 1998: 97–127) that this warlike aristocracy did not exist in opposition to, but rather alongside, Rome's sixth century military institutions, as described by the literary sources. While the present study wholly supports the principle of separate military institutions in Rome (those of the *condottieri* and those of the community) existing concurrently and acting independently, it disagrees with Rawlings' model on several key points. Most notably, Rawlings' model of the military forces in Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries utilized a very optimistic reading of the literary evidence and argued for the presence of a strong, unified state (and therefore a strong, unified army) from a very early date. Additionally, Rawlings' differentiation of tactics (loose order raiding v hoplite battle) based largely on the scale of the conflict, and not on any social or cultural factors (or indeed the nature of the combatants), is ultimately unconvincing.

⁵² See Pallottino 1991 for discussion.

⁵³ This is best illustrated in Livy's description of Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, one of the most important Latin figures during the period. Livy noted that Mamilius was descended from Ulysses and the goddess Circe and had "numerous kinsmen and friends" (Liv. 1.49). Also see Howarth 1997 for a more general discussion of Latin aristocratic power during the period.

⁵⁴ The exact nature of this mobility is highly ambiguous. Ampolo's arguments about Latium's mobile aristocracy related largely to marriage and to single moves between various communities (Ampolo 1976–1977), and it is likely that the mobility of Latium's elite, although in principle limitless, was governed by a wide range of social and economic concerns which served to limit the actual amount

traveling with a band of followers,⁵⁵ and forming what amounted to small private armies.⁵⁶ Although evidently mobile, these elites and their companions also often seem to have dominated various settlements in Latium during Rome's regal and early republican periods, with some of the most powerful warlords being the basis for Rome's *reges*.⁵⁷

There is a wide range of indirect literary evidence supporting the existence of these types of mobile, or at least potentially mobile, clans and clan leaders in the sixth century. The Emperor Claudius' account of the central Italian heroes Caelus Vibenna and Macstarna is a prime example of warlike gentilicial aristocracy being active during the period.⁵⁸ Claudius noted that Macstarna was a "companion" (*sodalis*) of Caelius,⁵⁹ and claimed that following Caelius' death Macstarna left Etruria with the remnants of Caelius' army, eventually making his way to Rome and settling on the Caelian hill.⁶⁰ It is therefore unlikely that the "army" of Caelius had a strong association with a particular settlement or state prior to this point, despite being primarily composed of Vulcentanes,⁶¹ as Macstarna was able to assume command over the warband, move it to a new region, subsequently settle it there, and utilize it for personal gain, namely to become *rex* in Rome under the name Servius Tullius.⁶² While this activity slightly pre-dates our period of interest, which begins with the

of traveling done by most individuals and *gentes*. That being noted, the stories of the Vibenna brothers, Macstarna, and even Tarquinius Superbus (see below) do suggest that a high degree of mobility was possible. Although these stories obviously focus on powerful individuals, a reasonably sized group is clearly implied by the way they are able to immediately step into positions power (and sometimes because their followers are directly referenced).

⁵⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of Tarquinius Superbus' bodyguard, although highly suspect, may give some clues as to the nature of these followers. He noted that "first [Tarquinius] placed about his person a guard of very daring men, both natives and foreigners, armed with swords and spears, who camped round the palace at night and attended him in the daytime . . ." (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.41, trans. Cary).

⁵⁶ Cornell 1995b: 144.

⁵⁷ As Rawlings argued, while the exact origins of these enigmatic figures is still up for debate, their actions indicated that they were part of the same aristocratic group typified by the later figures of Attus Clausus, Coriolanus, and Appius Herdonius (Rawlings 1998: 104–106).

⁵⁸ Cornell 1995b: 144.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 4 for the meaning and importance of the term *sodale* in sixth and fifth century contexts.

⁶⁰ The "Table of Lyons," *ILS* 212.I.8–27; Smallwood 1967: nos. 369; trans. Cornell 1995b: 134.

⁶¹ Alföldi, taking the view that the Vulcentane character of Macstarna's army *does* indicate a state or tribal affiliation, argued that this narrative indicated that Rome was dominated by the Vulci sometime during the sixth century (Alföldi 1965: 133–134). However, whatever their previous affiliation, the Macstarna/Servius Tullius figure seems to have had no trouble integrating them into Rome, as there is no record of a strong Vulcentane influence in Rome during this period, nor do the sources for the incident seem to imply that one should have been present.

⁶² This variant tradition about the origins of Servius Tullius was evidently Etruscan in origin (Cornell 1995b: 144).

reign of Servius Tullius, and is naturally mythic in nature, it hints at the type of figures and groups which may have been active during the period.

The figure of Sextus Tarquinius, the youngest son of Tarquinius Superbus, whose exploits were recorded by Livy,⁶³ is arguably another example of this type of warlord. Several aspects of the narrative concerning him are obviously slightly problematic, as Rome's historians naturally provided motives for many of his actions which may not be entirely accurate;⁶⁴ however, the basic structure and sequence of events in the narrative are clear and bear a strong resemblance to the actions of figures like Macstarna. Sometime after Tarquinius Superbus' succession to the throne in Rome, Sextus left the city and traveled to the settlement of Gabii.⁶⁵ At Gabii he offered his military support to the community, indicating that he may have been traveling with companions and represented a noteworthy force. The Gabini eventually welcomed him in and he immediately became a prominent figure in the community, again hinting at a powerful following.⁶⁶ Sextus began to conduct successful raids, distribute plunder, and acquired more followers, eventually becoming the most dominant figure in the city.⁶⁷ After he had achieved a certain level of power, he forcefully removed his rivals in Gabii and created an alliance with his father in Rome.

The primary aspects of the stories of Sextus Tarquinius and Macstarna can also be seen mirrored in the life of other figures from Latium, most notably the *reges* of Rome. All the *reges* of Rome, including the shadowy Macstarna/Servius Tullius, were foreign elites who traveled to Rome and dominated by means of personal power.⁶⁸ In addition, many of the *reges* gained or solidified power by means of successful military action and the distribution of wealth, often violently removing or exiling rivals for power.⁶⁹ Clearly the base of power for each *rex* was slightly different, as

⁶³ Liv. 1.53.

⁶⁴ The most notable of these was the mythic order by Tarquinius Superbus to Sextus Tarquinius to kill all the leading men of Gabii, which was implied by the Roman *rex*'s chopping off the heads of flowers in a field (Liv. 1.53).

⁶⁵ That this activity was not unusual is suggested by the fact that the Gabini did not suspect any treachery when Sextus, the son of their recent enemy, arrived, and by the fact that Sextus proclaimed that if the Gabini did not welcome him, he would continue to wander Latium, looking for other tribes or settlement which would welcome his military support.

⁶⁶ Sextus' immediate prominence in Gabii, and his inclusion in the city council, suggests that military power was the primary requirement for political power in Latin communities.

⁶⁷ See Rawlings 1998: 105 for additional discussion of Sextus Tarquinius as a *condottiere*.

⁶⁸ See Thomsen 1980: 57–114 for the origins of Servius Tullius, and some general discussion of the origins of the Roman *reges*.

⁶⁹ Tarquinius Superbus executed or exiled a large number of senators upon his rise to power in an attempt to remove any political rivals to his throne (Liv. 1.49, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.42), and Servius Tullius exiled the Marcii upon his rise to power (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.8).

arguably displayed by both their various temperaments, achievements, and avenues to power, and there is not a one-size-fits-all model for gentilicial power in Rome and Latium. But the basic model of powerful, independent, extramural/foreign, warlike (or at least militarily capable) clans and clan leaders moving between the region's communities during the sixth century is surprisingly consistent. Indeed, moving slightly later in the sixth century, one could also add Lars Porsenna of Clusium and the Claudii to this list, and that is only looking at Rome.

Given the nature of the surviving sources, most of the evidence for Latium's warlike gentilicial aristocracy during the sixth century is naturally Romano-centric. However, indirect evidence does suggest that Rome's *reges* existed as part of a larger community of gentilicial elites. Although evidence for identifiable warlords is scarce outside of Rome, both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentioned the figure of Octavius Mamilius, a clan leader associated with the settlement of Tusculum, who the sources claim married the daughter of Tarquinius Superbus.⁷⁰ Additionally, the sixth/fifth century inscription from the Lapis Satricanus⁷¹ and its mention of the *suodales* (*sodales*) of a Poplios Valesios may also refer to a warlord and his warband which were likely active during this period.⁷² Furthermore, the figures and events of the Latin council at Ferentina, recorded during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, also seem to indicate the existence of a large community of Latin warlords. In addition to the Roman *rex* Tarquinius Superbus, the sources mention a certain Turnus Herdonius of Aricia (Dionysius claimed he was associated with the settlement of Corilla),⁷³ an additional unnamed rival from Aricia, and a host of anonymous Latin elites all of whom seem to have been on roughly equal footing with Tarquinius Superbus.⁷⁴ The nature of the meeting, its use to create temporary alliances for the purpose of raiding the Sabines,⁷⁵ and the very personal nature of the betrayal of Turnus all suggest the continued dominance of a highly individualistic approach to both warfare and foreign policy, at least among the region's elite. Again, this entire narrative is colored by mythic overtones and should be taken with a very large pinch of salt, but its emphasis on clans, clan leaders, and clan politics in a world which was supposedly ruled by Rome and the Roman state is intriguing.

⁷⁰ Liv. 1.49; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45. ⁷¹ See Cornell 1995b: 428 for a basic description.

⁷² See below Chapter 4. ⁷³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45. ⁷⁴ Liv. 1.50–51.

⁷⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45.

As Bradley has argued, perhaps the most important aspect of Latium's elite was not their ability to travel from place to place, but that they seem to have been able to preserve their social status in their new communities, "apparently unhindered by any ethnic baggage or previously held civic or community identity."⁷⁶ This mobility, and the fluid nature of community identity during both the late regal and early republican periods, was entirely alien to our late republican sources, which tended to rationalize the recorded events to fit within anachronistic conceptions of early Roman society.⁷⁷ But this evident mobility within central Italy was impossible to ignore given its centrality to the narrative, and was evidently not limited to aristocrats of Rome's late regal period. Indeed, Rome had always had an overt "open door" policy toward foreigners, something which was associated with both of Rome's mythical founders, Aeneas and Romulus, in the literary tradition.⁷⁸ The inclusion of immigrants into society was seen to be an established part of Rome's mythic origin.⁷⁹ This is further supported by the archaic Latin rights of *ius conubii* and *ius exili*, which would have supported and facilitated the practice of moving between various settlements. However, the mapping of an anachronistic view of citizenship onto early Rome, where the clearly defined, innate, and intransient nature of late republican Roman citizenship was assumed to have applied to what was actually a relatively open society, particularly with regard to the region's gentilicial aristocracy, has resulted in a confused and often contradictory position. Consequently, Livy and other ancient sources struggled to explain the movement of various aristocratic figures around Latium, often using trials and exile – two themes which would have been familiar to late republican audiences – to justify the transition of clans and clan leaders from one community to another.⁸⁰ The reality of the situation, however, seems to have been much simpler – at least during the sixth century. As much of their wealth and power seems to have been both portable and largely extramural anyway, many of central Italy's clans seem to have had no trouble leaving the territory of one community for another as opportunities and the situation dictated. Toward the end of the sixth century and into the fifth, as clans began to invest more and more in land, the situation began to change – with the Tarquins and their disputed ownership of the Campus Martius perhaps representing an example of this

⁷⁶ Bradley 2006: 165. This is likely to have been due, at least in part, to the fluid nature of early Latin citizenship (see Chapter 6).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: 165. ⁷⁸ Liv. 1.2; 1.9. ⁷⁹ Cornell 1995b: 156–157.

⁸⁰ This motif is perhaps most evident in the narrative of Coriolanus, but is also mentioned in the description of the arrival of the Claudii, among others.

liminal phase – and it is clear, as will be discussed later, that clans in the mid to late fifth century were increasingly loathe to move. But for the majority of the sixth century the archaic *modus operandi* seems to have been in effect, with the region's clans maintaining a surprising level of independence and mobility.

The archaeological footprint of central Italy's mobile aristocracy is also much lighter for the sixth century than one might expect, and generally points toward the continuation of existing behavior. Clearly the monumental building evident in *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini* and elsewhere in Latium in the sixth century can be attributed to central Italy's elite *gentes* to a certain extent, and particularly to the increasingly permanent bonds which clans were forming with various communities during this period. But the archaeological evidence for the region's gentilicial elite is generally limited to a few discreet aspects and does not permeate every facet of the archaic urban landscape as one might expect – particularly if the gentilicial elite represented a core aspect of the urban population – although preservation and other archaeological biases may be partly to blame.

In addition to the Lapis Satricanus,⁸¹ Bradley has argued that personal names in Latium which are also epigraphically attested in southern Etruria (principally at Tarquinia and Veii) may belong to assimilated, high status immigrants, also hinting at the mobility of the local aristocracy.⁸² The continued martial character of the gentilicial aristocracy is supported by burial evidence from Latium, where elites often symbolized their position by being buried with weapons and armor (which are typically confined to male burials), in addition to jewelry and pottery.⁸³ While mortuary practices were in the process of changing during the sixth century, elite central Italian burials remained part of a very strong mortuary tradition, which included the deposition of military items in graves dating back to the ninth century in central Italy, and which continued, albeit in a diminished fashion, into the fifth century.⁸⁴ Although it is problematic to try to identify specific population groups based solely on mortuary evidence, the presence of military equipment in sixth-century burials indicated that a segment of the population continued to use these items as part of their identification.⁸⁵ As military equipment from the late sixth century

⁸¹ See Chapter 4. ⁸² Ampolo 1976–1977. See Bradley 2006: 165 for discussion.

⁸³ See Bietti Sestieri 1992: 199–243 for a summary of burial evidence in central Italy for the sixth century.

⁸⁴ Stary 1981: 174–201.

⁸⁵ It must be remembered that burials and burial practices should not be understood as self-representation by the deceased (although this does have a certain role; cf. Trimalchio's plans for his

continued to be found exclusively in wealthy burials, which were part of distinct family-based units, the archaeological evidence points toward a continuation of the gentilicial warbands which were present in earlier periods.⁸⁶

The mortuary evidence can be supplemented by a collection of indirect evidence. Perhaps most famously, although dated to the second half of the fourth century, the specific content of a series of wall paintings from the François Tomb at Vulci seems to support the tradition of aristocratic warlords operating in central Italy during earlier periods.⁸⁷ On one side of the tomb is a painting of the sacrifice of prisoners at the funeral of Patroclus from the *Iliad*, while on the opposing wall is a scene which depicts armed men killing unarmed opponents.⁸⁸ Figures in both paintings are identified by name. The armed figures in the second scene are *Macstarna* (Mastarna), *Caile* and *Avle Vipinas* (the Vibenna brothers), *Rasce*, and *Marce Camitlnas*. The victims in this scene are *Cneve Tarchunies Rumach*, *Laris Papathnas Velznach*, *Pesna Arcmsnas Sveamach*, and an unidentified warrior, whose name has been damaged.⁸⁹ Cornell identified *Rumach* as Rome, *Velznach* as Volsinii, and hypothesized that *Sveamach* may refer to the site of Sovana.⁹⁰ While it may be inadvisable to read too much into this scene, the presence of figures like Macstarna and Caeles Vibenna, along with their companions, is clearly supported, at least within the cultural memory of the region. Given the disparate communities of origin of the victims, this scene supports the existence of groups of warriors who were evidently linked by social bonds, as opposed to links based on location or community of origin. The dating of the events is obviously problematic, but all of the known characters were traditionally dissociated with the sixth century, hinting the others should be as well. The individualistic nature of the warfare between these groups may represent duels, or may simply be an artistic convention.

The overall image which emerges from this patchy evidence is that the sixth century saw the continued presence of a mobile, warlike, gentilicial aristocracy in Latium. As a result, instead of utilizing community-based military models, such as those presented in the traditional interpretations

mausoleum in Petronius' *Satyricon*), but identification of the deceased by those who were still living and who were in charge of the burial. See Bietti Sestieri 1992: 9–20 for a discussion of burial evidence as a tool for understanding social and cultural organizations/practices.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2. ⁸⁷ Cornell 1995b: 135. ⁸⁸ See Sgubini Moretti 2004 for a detailed analysis.

⁸⁹ It is unlikely that this Gnaeus Tarquinius was one of the *reges* of Rome, as both of the recorded *reges* who bore the name Tarquinius were named Lucius. Indeed, the name Tarquinius may have been fairly common in the region, as it presumably related to the Etruscan community of Tarquinia. However, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that this figure did rule at Rome, given the problematic nature of the line of *reges* at Rome (Cornell 1995b: 138).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 138

of the Servian Constitution, evidence suggests that Latium's warlords were able to command what amounted to personal armies (perhaps *gens*-based, or recruited on a temporary basis from local communities, or some combination thereof) to accomplish highly personal goals.⁹¹ It should be noted that this type of mobile aristocracy was not unique to central Italy, as there was an analogous and contemporaneous aristocracy present in mainland Greece, most clearly demonstrated by the Alkmaeonidae,⁹² and Lintott has also offered some possible Greek analogies, noting the similarity between early Roman aristocratic warbands and Cleisthenes' *hetairoi*.⁹³ The main point, however, is that there existed in central Italy a collection of powerful clans, whose elite male members identified intimately with portable wealth, military equipment, warrior followers, and martial values, and which were able to continue to dominate the region's warfare during this period.

The Roman rex

The nature of the relationship between Latium's gentilicial elite and the region's local communities during the sixth century was undoubtedly multifaceted, with each clan or *gens*' unique identity and each community's inimitable context creating distinct relationships. No two clans and communities likely interacted in exactly the same way. However, in an effort to define the broader paradigm, one of the clearest and best documented examples of clan–community interaction during this period is the magistracy of the Roman *rex*.⁹⁴ As argued above, while the *rex* was nominally in charge of the early Roman state, the duties of the office seemed to have been confined to warfare, justice, and religion. The bulk of the civic duties were likely handled by the *curiae* and the *comitia curiata*, which evidently

⁹¹ Contra Rawlings (Rawlings 1998, see also Chapter 3 of this volume), who argued that the warfare of the *condottieri* should be seen as part of "Roman warfare" more generally during both the sixth and fifth centuries. While the actions of the *condottieri* in the fifth century do have an increasingly community-based focus (particularly through the vehicle of the consul), the entirely personal motivations of the *condottieri* in the sixth century and their evident social disassociation from individual Latin settlements mean that there is no reason to associate the majority of the warfare conducted by the *condottieri* during the period with either Rome or other Latin communities. The obvious exceptions to this would be warfare conducted by the *rex* for the defense of the settlement; however, recorded instances of this type of behavior are very rare.

⁹² See Osborne 1996: 271–272 for discussion of elite factions and families in Greece during the archaic period.

⁹³ Lintott 1999: 30. See Lintott 1982: 51–55 for further discussion.

⁹⁴ Rawlings has also argued that the Roman *rex* (particularly Servius Tullius) was clearly part of the same social group as the rest of Latium's warlike elite (Rawlings 1998: 106).

passed (or at least ratified) the problematic *leges regiae* along with the initial grants of *imperium*. The evident military strength of the *rex* did give him a certain level of unofficial power, but the granting or confirming of *imperium* via the *lex curiata* indicates that the relationship between the *rex* and the urban or proto-urban community, as embodied by the *curiae*, resembled something more akin to a social contract than a military autocracy.⁹⁵ Indeed, the relationship seemed to exist along mutually beneficial lines.⁹⁶ While the nature of this social contract may have been linked to the external origins of each Roman *rex*, and the Roman *reges* were neither originally a part of the community nor held any legitimate power upon their arrival, the granting of *imperium* and the taking of the *auspicia* from the community seems to have represented an official grant of authority. In return for this authority, the *rex* would have provided military support and protected the community from the ravages of other warlords and roving tribes.

It is still entirely uncertain what the early *imperium* of the *rex* entailed. Alföldi argued, largely convincingly, that it was the spear (*hasta*) which was the earliest insignia of *imperium* in Rome and central Italy more generally, hinting at its intrinsically martial character.⁹⁷ This may have reflected both the duty of the *rex* to protect the settlement using his own resources, and his right to recruit men from the settlement in times of need.⁹⁸ However, Dionysius' description of the curiate system suggested that the recruiting powers of the *rex* were still mitigated by the power of the *curiae*, which were allowed to vote on war when the *rex* referred the matter to them (i.e. when he requested soldiers).⁹⁹ Besides the *hasta*, the most obvious symbol of *imperium* was the presence of the *lictors*, who accompanied the *rex*, and later the *praetor*, bearing their *fascēs*.¹⁰⁰ As Marshall argued, the *fascēs* were, at their core, a

⁹⁵ This may not have been universal, as Livy recorded that the rule of Servius Tullius was not ratified by the *comitia curiata* (Livy 1.42). See Rawlings 1998: 106 for discussion.

⁹⁶ Howarth 1997: 37.

⁹⁷ Alföldi based his argument on literary evidence (including Festus and Varro), numismatic evidence from Rome during the third century, and a wide range of iconographic evidence (Alföldi 1959: 1–27). In particular, this use of the spear to indicate royal power in central Italy is seen in paintings from the Golini tomb (Giglioli 1935: pl. 245) and reliefs from Chiusi (*ibid.*: pl. 3.1) and Velitiae (*ibid.*: pl. 91).

⁹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus seemed to suggest, in his rationalized description of the Romulean divisions of Roman society, that the *curiae* played a role in Rome's early army (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.7), although the only definite description of this role (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.13) involved the recruitment of cavalry (*celeres*), a position also supported by Varro (Varro *LL* 5.91), Servius (Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.368), and possibly Festus (Festus 47L).

⁹⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.14. See Botsford 1908 for additional discussion.

¹⁰⁰ The origin of the *lictors* in Rome is problematic, a dilemma which was also present in the late Republic, because Livy presented a wide range of opinions on the subject. He associated the office

very practical collection of items for flogging and decapitation, which again hints at the violent and perhaps despotic nature of *imperium*.¹⁰¹ However, the *fascēs* were carried in non-martial contexts within the settlement, and the *lictōres* were traditionally associated with both the plebeian population and the *comitia curiata*, indicating that they represented much more than the warband of the *rex*.¹⁰² It is therefore possible that the *lictōres* represented the *curiae*, or urban population in Rome, and indeed the late republican version of the *comitia curiata* contained only the *lictōres*.¹⁰³ Thus their presence was a symbolic representation of both the social contract between the community and the *rex* and of the judicial authority of *rex* over the population.¹⁰⁴

The early Roman senate

The early Roman senate can also be interpreted as yet another aspect of this larger Latin gentilicial aristocracy, although given its elusive size, composition, and character in this early period (and indeed any time before the late third century) very little can be said about it with any certainty. The original senate was supposedly formed by Romulus and included 100 *patres* who served for life.¹⁰⁵ This group was then gradually expanded, most notably with the inclusion of the followers of Titus Tatius, also under Romulus, and then the Alban nobles under Tullus Hostilius before the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, when the body was expanded dramatically with the addition of either 100 or 150 senators, to reach the traditional number of 300.¹⁰⁶ Given the title *patres*, it is reasonable to assume (as has been argued by Momigliano and others)¹⁰⁷ that these men were the *patres familias* of local *gentes* – and the traditional 300 patrician *gentes* were often thought to

with the Etruscans (Liv. 1.8). Aulus Gellius, on the other hand, focused on the etymology of the title, and claims that *lictōr* was derived from the word *ligare* “to bind” (Gell. *NA* 12.3). The sources are unanimous, however, in associating the *lictōres* with the regal period.

¹⁰¹ Marshall 1984: 130.

¹⁰² The *lictōres curiati* were in charge of summoning the *comitia curiata* (Gell. *NA* 15.27; Cic. *Agr.* II.12; Orelli, *Inscr.* 2176, 2922, 3240). Additionally, the *lictōres* were traditionally associated with and chosen from the plebeian population (Liv. 2.55).

¹⁰³ Note the similarity between this use of the *fascēs* in Rome to represent the *curiae* and the archaic use of the *fascēs* by the Etruscan *praetor* of the twelve cities, where each *lictōr* represented a distinct Etruscan community (Alföldi 1965: 26).

¹⁰⁴ It is likely, following Aulus Gellius’ etiology of the word *lictōr*, that the *fascēs* represented the *rex*’s judicial capacity to inflict judgment, and not his martial character (Gell. *NA* 12.3).

¹⁰⁵ Liv. 1.8.7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.12.1; Vell. Pat. 1.8.6; Plut. *Rom.* 13.1.

¹⁰⁶ Cic. *Rep.* 2.14; Liv. 1.8.7, 28.7, 35.6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.12.1, 47.1–2, 3.29; Plut. *Rom.* 13, 20; *et al.*

¹⁰⁷ See most notably Momigliano 1969b: 24.

be the families of these men.¹⁰⁸ The archaic senate therefore represented the traditional, gentilicial elite associated with the community.

As all of the literary sources placed the origins of the senate firmly in the regal period, it is unsurprising that a number of modern scholars have attempted to link this body to both the archaic tribes and *curiae*. The key piece of evidence used for this is the note by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that the original 100 senators were chosen from the tribes and *curiae* (one from each tribe, three from each *curiae*, which along with the prefect of the city made 100).¹⁰⁹ This note has been rightly criticized by a number of scholars and is now generally thought to represent Sullan propaganda, specifically the pamphlet “The Constitution of Romulus,” more than it does an authentic ancient tradition.¹¹⁰ Given the mobility and flexibility of Rome and Latium’s elite during this period, it is likely that the archaic senate simply embodied the collected *gentes* associated with Rome at a given time, represented by their *patres familias* and possibly selected by the *rex*.¹¹¹ In the regal period they may have represented what amounted to an advisory council, which expressed the will of the collected *gentes* (perhaps in contrast to, or alongside, the will of the *curiae*) – something which is supported by the regular use of phrases like *consilium regis* and *publicum consilium* in association with the senate.¹¹² The number of senators may have been arbitrarily limited to 100 or 300 in various periods, even if only for the sake of functionality, although it is entirely possible (and arguably likely) that this and other formal aspects represent products of the republican period. Overall, as seems clear from the inclusion of powerful *gentes* like the Claudii in 509, the early senate – like the community of Rome itself – was likely a reasonably open and practical body which gave a voice to the *gentes* who associated with Rome but who were evidently not powerful enough, or simply did not have the motivation, to take on the position of

¹⁰⁸ See Cornell 2014: 208 for discussion. ¹⁰⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.12.

¹¹⁰ See Gabba 1960: 175–225. It is worth noting, however, that even taken at something resembling face value, the passage is not overly troubling as all it really suggests is that the *patres* were chosen from the local community at Rome, as embodied by the *curiae* and tribes. A problem only arises if representation is argued (which the sources do not support) or if the *curiae* and tribes are considered stable entities with exclusive populations during this period – something which is unlikely given both Rome’s “open door” policy toward foreigners and the evident flexibility in her constitution during the late sixth century.

¹¹¹ Membership in the senate is problematic. Evidence suggests that the *patres* of the regal senate were selected by *rex*, as Festus’ discussion of the *lex Ouinia* suggests (*reges sibi legebant sublegebantque quos in public consilio haberent* . . . [Festus 290L]), indicating that it was not open to all. This practice was continued into the Republic by the consuls/*praetores*, until the *lex Ouinia* dictated that the censors select the senate from the best men from every rank (*censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque iurati* [Festus 290L]).

¹¹² Cornell 2014: 215.

rex themselves. Indeed, the flexible, fluid, and mobile nature of the gentilicial elite around Rome may help to explain the apparent contradiction between the sources over whether membership in the senate was lifelong or whether each *rex* and early *praetor*/consul was able to make numerous appointments.¹¹³ The gradual expansion of the senate during the course of the period, along with the supposed doubling during the sixth century, can also be taken as indirect evidence for the settling down and expansion of the largely extramural, clan-based population associated with Rome during this period.

With this model of the archaic senate, as a council for the local clan leaders, the *conscripti* of the senate may present something of a problem. Made up of non-patricians, the *conscripti* were evidently chosen after the *patres* to fill out any available positions on the roll. Being unassociated with a *gens*, it is uncertain what function they would have performed within this early body, as presumably their interests were more closely aligned with the *curiae*, and why the *rex* and the *gentes* would have felt the need to include them. So while it is entirely possible that the early senate contained some non-patricians, chosen from the community at large, who represented powerful, but non-*gens* based interests,¹¹⁴ it is more likely that the *conscripti* were a product of Rome's fifth or fourth century reforms and represented part of the larger and later integration of Rome's gentilicial and urban populations.¹¹⁵ Indeed, even the extant literary sources which argue for a regal origin for the *conscripti* admit that they were probably a reasonably late development, associated with the reign of Servius Tullius, with the first major installment of these men taking place during the Republic, as the first consuls/*praetores* supposedly enrolled 164 *conscripti* due to a shortage of patricians.¹¹⁶ This large number was reportedly due to the persecution of the patricians by Tarquinius Superbus in the previous year, but may have just as easily been the result of some *gentes* either siding with the Tarquins or simply being removed by the new coalition of clans in charge of the city. Either way, the presence and rise of *conscripti* in the senate seems to mirror the rise of the community and urban population in politics in Rome, and so should generally be considered an early republican development meant to include non-gentilicial elites from the community.

¹¹³ See *ibid.* 213–214 for discussion. ¹¹⁴ This is supported by Zon. 7.9 and Serv. *Aen.* 1.426.

¹¹⁵ This is supported by Liv. 2.1.10–11; Fest. 304L. Cornell has argued that the *lex Ovinia*, which put the selection of the senate into the hands of the senate, may date to the year 318 (Cornell 2014: 220–222).

¹¹⁶ Liv. 2.1; Plut. *Publ.* 11.1–2. The actual number of 164 may represent a bit of antiquarian guesswork. See Cornell 2014: 211 for discussion.

The importance of portable wealth

The continued dominance of warfare exercised by Latium's clan-based elite is also illustrated in the highly personal aims and goals of sixth century Latin warfare. Although the literary sources often attempted to ascribe anachronistic, state-based motivations to early Roman warfare, the primary motivation behind the vast majority of the conflicts in Latium during the sixth century seems to have been the pursuit of immediate economic gain, and particularly portable wealth.¹¹⁷ Despite the relative paucity of detailed descriptions of warfare, and particularly offensive warfare, all of those which do exist conform to this model. For instance, Tarquinius Superbus is recorded as having engaged in raids against the Volsci¹¹⁸ and the settlements of Gabii,¹¹⁹ Suessa Pometia, and Ardea in the explicit pursuit of booty.¹²⁰ Livy and Dionysius also claimed that he used the Latin council at Ferentina to try to organize joint raids against the Sabines.¹²¹ Additionally, as noted above, Livy recorded that Sextus Tarquinius conducted raids from his base at Gabii.¹²² The type of wealth sought in each of these actions, although rarely mentioned specifically in the sources,¹²³ was most likely portable rather than land based,¹²⁴ because sixth century warfare very rarely resulted in actual territorial conquest.¹²⁵ This is supported by the importance of the *spolia* and *spolia opima* in early Roman warfare, which seems to have been inherently portable, by definition.¹²⁶

There is also evidence that warfare was an integral part of an “economy of prestige” in Latium, likely based at least in part on the accumulation of

¹¹⁷ This position is in opposition to that suggested by Rawlings, who argued that the primary motivation of warfare during the period was to “dominate their rivals, and hold cities for themselves” (Rawlings 1998: 106).

¹¹⁸ Liv. 1.53. ¹¹⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.53. ¹²⁰ Liv. 1.53; 1.57.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 1.50–51; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45. ¹²² Liv. 1.53.

¹²³ The only explicit reference to the spoils of war in the late regal period (c. 570–509) is Livy's claim that the booty from the sack of Suessa Pometia amounted to 40 talents of silver (Liv. 1.53).

¹²⁴ Dionysius' claim that Servius Tullius acquired land after the defeat of Veii, Tarquinia, and Caere was likely to have been an anachronistic assumption based on later Roman practice (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.27), as this was not supported by Livy's account and there is no evidence for colony foundation (see Chapter 6). It is possible that Latin *gentes* did claim certain areas of land (reflected in Rome's rural tribes, etc.) but, given their mobility and likely use of the land for pastoral purposes and limited agriculture, it is unlikely that “ownership” of land was thought of in the same way as that of more portable objects.

¹²⁵ Note the similarity between this type of warfare and that practiced in Greece during the eighth and seventh centuries. Attacking armies often traveled to various communities asking friends and others to accompany them in exchange for a share of the booty. These “mini-alliances” were sealed with oaths and taken quite seriously, but were typically not long lasting (van Wees 2004: 13).

¹²⁶ See Fowler 1916 and more recently Oakley 1985.

high-status items and the redistribution of wealth by a leader among his followers in order to cement their loyalty and raise the leader's prestige in the group.¹²⁷ This type of behavior is hinted at in the literary evidence for Servius Tullius' only recorded military endeavor against the city of Veii (Dionysius listed the cities of Tarquinia and Caere as allies of Veii in this war).¹²⁸ Livy recorded that the most important result of the action was the confirmation of Servius Tullius' position as *rex* at Rome.¹²⁹ The practice is laid out more explicitly in the narrative concerning the Tarquinii, where Sextus Tarquinius used booty from successful raids to expand his base of followers in Gabii,¹³⁰ and Tarquinius Superbus began his war against Ardea for the express purpose of acquiring booty to placate his Roman followers.¹³¹

The focus on the acquisition of portable wealth resulted in a distinctive type of warfare in Latium, where emphasis was placed on raiding as opposed to military conquest and occupation.¹³² The portable wealth sought in these raids likely took on a variety of different forms, including both livestock and prestige items, along with various types of currency – although presumably not coinage as Rome's economy did not adopt this until the late fourth century.¹³³ While there is some evidence that Greek coinage did circulate in central Italy during the archaic period, there is no evidence that coinage was minted or used in a significant way in Rome prior to the late fourth century.¹³⁴ Uncoined bronze, sometimes formed into irregular bars with a “*ramo seco*” (dried branch) pattern, was in circulation by the fifth and fourth centuries, although bronze is most often found as simply *aes rude* (rough lumps of bronze), a form which seems to have been used in the region as early as the tenth century and continued down into the monetized period.¹³⁵ Despite this irregular form, laws like the *lex Aternia Tarpeia* of 454 and the *lex Iulia Papira* of 430 both indicate that bronze was in use as a currency by the middle of the fifth century for paying fines.¹³⁶ Indeed, Pliny reported that Timaetus attributed bronze coinage to Servius Tullius,¹³⁷ although Crawford has argued that it

¹²⁷ The means by which this redistribution of wealth took place varied during the period in question. While it is likely that most booty was distributed to the followers/soldiers involved, the dedication of the booty from Suessa Pometia to a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline (Liv. 1.53) indicates that this was not always the case, and on occasion an entire community was able to share in the proceeds from war.

¹²⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.27. ¹²⁹ Liv. 1.42. ¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 1.54. ¹³¹ *Ibid.* 1.57.

¹³² Although it goes against the explicit testimony of the literary sources, the singular importance of raiding in early Roman warfare is now generally accepted. See, most recently, Drogula (2015) 26–28 for discussion.

¹³³ Crawford 1985: 1–3. ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*: 17. ¹³⁵ Rutter 2001 45. ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*: 3–4.

¹³⁷ Pliny *NH* 33.42–44.

is more likely that Timaeus was attributing the designation of a metallic unit of weight, the *as* of bronze, to Servius, as part of his explanation of the Servian census instead – although the anachronistic attribution of coinage to the *rex* would not be surprising.¹³⁸ However, while bronze was likely in use as a currency in archaic Rome, it is likely that livestock and other agricultural products formed the most important part of the central Italy's economy. Indeed, Romans of the late Republic believed that wealth in early Rome consisted largely of cattle, from which the word for money (*pecunia*) was likely derived.¹³⁹

The mobile nature of many Latin clans and elites during the period may have also emphasized the pursuit of more portable luxury items in warfare, like the bronze (in the form of *aes rude*, armor, etc.), jewelry, and pottery found in aristocratic burials, in addition to herds of cattle or other livestock. The evidence from Latium indicates that although wealthy burials were on the decline in the seventh and sixth centuries, portable wealth still played an important role in aristocratic display in the period. The typical grave from Latium during the sixth century was relatively poor, and contained little or no grave goods.¹⁴⁰ In contrast, aristocratic burials continued to include valuable objects, including weapons and armor, although not in the same quantities as in the eighth and seventh centuries. For instance, the jewelry which has been found in a female graves at Fidenae and Praeneste dating to the sixth century which is similar to items from earlier Etruscan sites,¹⁴¹ and imported Greek drinking vessels, typically interpreted as high prestige (although this is somewhat problematic given the well-established problems with interpreting the Greek pottery trade to central Italy), have been found in roughly contemporary graves at Osteria dell'Osa.¹⁴² The continued inclusion of military equipment in central Italian burials during the early sixth and fifth centuries indicates that this type of portable wealth was evidently still used as a form of elite expression by the gentilicial aristocracy,¹⁴³ and hints that warfare

¹³⁸ Crawford 1985: 19. ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*: 19. ¹⁴⁰ Smith 1996: 186–188.

¹⁴¹ *GRT* 155ff, 10.4 260 ff. These items are typically interpreted as a sign of intermarriage (Smith 1996: 130).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*: 109–110.

¹⁴³ The use of military equipment as portable wealth, and particularly its value as *spolia*, is problematic in the Roman context. Most notably, Livy's references to captured enemy equipment (Liv. 8.10, 23.46, 30.6, 41.12), and particularly the requirement that it be burned and consecrated to Vulcanus (or sometimes Lua, see particularly Liv. 8.1 and 45.33), suggested that the Romans often viewed it as ritually "dangerous," with only the *spolia opima* (the arms and armor of the enemy commander) and the *spolia provocatoria* (arms and armor acquired through single combat which followed a challenge) allowed within the city walls. This interpretation of enemy equipment as *sacra* is also found in *The Twelve Tables* (8.21). See Versnel 1970: 309–310 for discussion of *spolia* as *sacra* or taboo.

was unlikely to be under complete state control – as the strict association between military equipment and elite burials can be seen as part of a larger monopolization of martial values by the elite.¹⁴⁴ Looking a bit further afield, in Etruria burial expenditure did not seem to decrease to the same extent as it did in Latium, as there are a number of rich burials in Etruria dating to the period, demonstrating a continuation of previously existing practices of aristocratic display in other regions of central Italy.¹⁴⁵ While it is obviously tricky to draw any real conclusions for the current study from for these practices outside of Rome and Latium, given the larger regional character of the *gentes* during this period the elite gentilicial behavior in southern Etruria likely influenced, if not formed a part, of the wider behavioral norms for elite expression utilized by Latin clans. As a result, the acquisition and display of portable wealth can still be seen as an important aspect of aristocratic identity, and therefore provides a plausible motivation for continued raiding.

Intriguingly, however, as Waarsenburg has noted, although burial evidence clearly supports the existence of a wealthy and likely clan-based aristocracy in archaic Latium, there is little to no evidence for comparably wealthy habitations, as it appears that Latin elites tended to live in simple, even temporary dwellings,¹⁴⁶ thus providing indirect support for the importance of both portable wealth and mobility during the period.¹⁴⁷ Although Waarsenburg's study focused on Latium in the seventh century, evidence suggest that temporary habitations for the elite continued into the sixth century, with structures like Carandini's late sixth-century Palatine houses representing some of the first pieces of significant domestic architecture to be found in Rome,¹⁴⁸ apart from problematic cases like the *Regia*.¹⁴⁹ This picture holds true even outside of the city, with sites like the Auditorium Villa offering a comparable developmental sequence.

¹⁴⁴ See van Wees 2004: 47–60 for a discussion of this principle. ¹⁴⁵ Torelli 1986: 48.

¹⁴⁶ These should not be understood to be tents, but rather simple temporary structures, which were regularly rebuilt and replaced if inhabited for significant periods of time.

¹⁴⁷ Waarsenburg 2001: 178–188.

¹⁴⁸ Carandini 1990. See Chapter 4. Carandini also identified an earlier sequence of structures in the Forum Romanum, near the *regia* (under the Temple of the Vestals), which date to the eighth century (Carandini 2007). The structures include two rooms on either side of a large porch, which Carandini has identified as forming a house (specifically the house of the *rex*), although this is highly speculative.

¹⁴⁹ The *regia*, one of the earliest possible Roman “aristocratic” houses, is highly problematic (See *LTUR* IV: 189–192, V: 287). Brown argued that although the origins of the structure dated back to the late seventh century, the *regia* as it existed in the Republic was erected c. 500 and seems to have been designed as a purpose-built structure for the newly created *rex sacrorum* (Brown 1967). While it is possible that earlier versions of the *regia* represented the residence of the *rex*, this is by no means certain because the literary evidence suggests that the *reges* did not live at the site (Solin. 1.21–6,

Located very near to the archaic city, the Auditorium Villa was founded as a small farmstead in the mid to late sixth century, and while it experienced a radical reorganization and expansion during the fifth century, during its initial phase of construction it seems to have been reasonably humble.¹⁵⁰

While wealthy burials in Latium were on the decline throughout the sixth century, the region experienced a boom in building projects, which Smith has convincingly argued were funded by the elite redirecting their wealth from mortuary practices to temple building.¹⁵¹ While it is possible that some of this wealth was acquired through trade,¹⁵² it is likely, given the martial character of the gentilicial elite, that at least some of the wealth was acquired through traditional raiding practices. This is, again, explicitly reported in the accounts of Tarquinius Superbus's warfare, along with others, and is naturally supported by the very strong tradition of temple building and public construction in Rome using the spoils of war which continued throughout her history. Indeed, warfare opened up a wide range of new economic opportunities which may not otherwise have been available. Although the evidence is slightly ambiguous, the François Tomb painting, with its clear depiction of captive, stripped warriors, indicated that prisoners were likely taken in central Italian warfare during the sixth century. It is uncertain what the fate of these captured warriors would have been, but either being ransomed or sold into slavery are strong possibilities, and both means of acquiring additional wealth have strong parallels elsewhere in the Mediterranean during the archaic period.¹⁵³

Latin communities

Not only was Latium's gentilicial aristocracy likely a loose and highly fragmented group, but Latium's settlements were also still in their infancy. Although many had been around for several centuries, and indeed some had origins which went back into the Bronze Age, the sixth century marked a period of immense change for urban centers throughout central Italy,

which probably draws on Varro; Cornell 1995b: 239–241, 443). Additionally, despite its longevity (albeit through a series of reconstructions), the structure was not particularly grand or monumental, even when compared with other late sixth- and early fifth-century structures. See Fulminante 2013: 51–52, 69, 89–92 for more recent discussion, most notably regarding the suggested modification c. 600 attributed to the Tarquins.

¹⁵⁰ Terrenato 2001. ¹⁵¹ Smith 1996: 186–202.

¹⁵² See *ibid.*: 185–223 for a discussion of trade in Latium during the sixth century. See Bietti Sestieri 1992: 212–220 for interregional contact in central Italy during the ninth through early sixth centuries.

¹⁵³ van Wees 2004: 26–28.

with many settlements experiencing not only accelerated growth, but the development and evolution of their urban centers through monumental buildings.¹⁵⁴ With burgeoning industries and ever more productive agricultural systems, along with changes in regional trade and immigration patterns, Latium's urban centers seem to have reached a pivotal moment in their development in the late sixth century – a point of critical mass where existing trends and developments were catalyzed and accelerated. This can be seen specifically at sites like Satricum, Ardea, and Ficana, where urban centers which had been gradually expanded during the early Iron Age were increasingly, and rapidly, being developed with ever larger and more substantial structures.¹⁵⁵ Synoecism and immigration continued throughout the sixth century, with many small settlements, like the one at Osteria dell'Osa, being abandoned for nearby urban centers.¹⁵⁶ Many cult sites, including the cult center of Mater Matuta and several temples in Satricum, were either rebuilt or expanded during the sixth century, often using terracotta forms derived from southern Italy, indicating a possible “opening-up” of Latin architectural style.¹⁵⁷ Ampolo suggested that during this period many settlements in Latium may have undergone an internal reorganization, formalizing their synoecism by developing a center and dividing the rest of the area into units, which he dubbed *pagi*.¹⁵⁸

Although it is evident that Rome, like other settlements in Latium, experienced sustained growth throughout the sixth and fifth centuries,¹⁵⁹ the actual size of the settlement and its population density still cannot be

¹⁵⁴ It must be noted that while some sites (Rome, Ardea, etc.) provide very good examples for this growth during the archaic period, specific evidence for most settlements in Latium, and particularly for the fifth century, is either scant or non-existent. However, if some generalizations are made based on the limited evidence which is available, a basic overview of settlement development in Latium is attainable. For instance, Smith noted that “despite the absence of proof, one would assume that [the growth of settlements in Latium] continued into the fifth century and beyond, not least because the size of settlements, and the building projects undertaken, rises continuously and simultaneously across these years” (Smith 1996: 100).

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 100.

¹⁵⁶ Bietti Sestieri argued that the burial patterns present in Latial period IV offer “a clear archaeological confirmation (as well as reliable chronological indication) of the centripetal movement towards the site of Gabii of the scattered residential units which occupied [the surrounding territory] throughout the Early Iron Age” (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 211).

¹⁵⁷ Holloway 1994: 146–147.

¹⁵⁸ Ampolo 1980: ff 165. This argument was based largely on a rationalization of Rome's antiquarian sources.

¹⁵⁹ This growth can be assumed based on our knowledge of Rome's estimated population in the seventh century compared with her population in the better documented fourth century. In addition, the continued development of the *Forum Romanum* and other public structures/areas during the period, coupled with the myriad stories of immigration and limited evidence for emigration, all support this broad narrative.

determined with any great precision.¹⁶⁰ This is due largely to the intensity and longevity of subsequent activity at the site of Rome, which has resulted in very little evidence of settlement practices surviving from Rome's earliest periods.¹⁶¹ That being said, the archaeology of the city can offer up a few broad guides to settlement size and, more importantly, social cohesion. During the Latial periods I–III (c. 900–720), the site of Rome was populated by a number of small independent communities. These settlements seem to have had rudimentary fortifications from at least the eighth century, which grew more elaborate and substantial as the various settlements at the site expanded and synoecised during the subsequent centuries.¹⁶² Some scholars have argued that examining the area encompassed by these fortifications may offer a general idea as to the size and scale of the settlement during the period.¹⁶³ Unfortunately, while this approach might plausibly be applied to planned cities and colonies, albeit with questionable results, in the case of Rome any estimates or hypotheses derived from her early fortifications ultimately only offer more questions because Rome's early fortifications did not seem to completely surround the city until the fourth century, the line of the early fortifications is still somewhat contested, and the dates for various portions of the defenses are still uncertain.¹⁶⁴ In addition, it is unknown whether the whole area within the fortifications was densely occupied at this early period, or whether there were significant open spaces within the city – possibly between communities which had yet to fully synoecise, to allow livestock to be

¹⁶⁰ It can be argued that detailed population estimates are impossible for any period.

¹⁶¹ Cornell 1995b: 198.

¹⁶² Holloway 1994: 101. Smith noted that “fortifications are an important indication of the self-awareness of a community. To build fortifications requires communal effort. It also requires a recognition of what needs to be defended, a definition of territory; and it implies a concept of other settlements as potential threats to be guarded against” (Smith 1996: 152). Unfortunately, while there are a wide variety of fortifications around parts of Rome from an early date (*LTUR* III: 315–317), there is no evidence for fortifications around the entire settlement until the fourth century (see Bernard 2012), meaning that it is highly problematic to attempt to use them to archaeologically support synoecism at Rome (for example, see Cifani 2012). The argument might be made that the evident partial circumvallation was combined with substantial natural defenses with the result that Rome was still effectively “fully defended,” although this argument is perhaps a bit optimistic.

¹⁶³ For instance, Ward's population density estimates were partially based on Rome's fortifications (Ward 1990: 10–11).

¹⁶⁴ The still visible republican walls, which were sometimes attributed to Servius Tullius in antiquity, actually date from the early fourth century (Livy dated them to 378, after the Gallic sack). Cornell noted the possibility of a now lost system of fortifications which did form a complete circuit around the city, citing the unanimous support of the literary sources (Cornell 1995b: 200); however, as Smith noted, there is no archaeological proof for any such wall (Smith 1996: 153). See *LTUR* III: 315–334, V: 277–279 and Bernard 2012.

brought closer to the community for protection and/or sale, or to allow for small plots of cultivation (*horti*), etc.¹⁶⁵

The evidence for the ritual limits of the early city is no less problematic than that which exists for the physical dimensions. The literary sources claimed that, at the very latest, the *pomerium* which established the sacred boundary of the city can be dated to the reign of Servius Tullius in the sixth century,¹⁶⁶ although there is also naturally the tradition ascribing it to Romulus as well.¹⁶⁷ The creation of such a boundary would obviously mark an important point of Rome's development, as it would indicate a formal separation of "us" (i.e. the Romans) and "them."¹⁶⁸ While a large amount of circumstantial evidence supports the *pomerium*'s early sixth century date, hard evidence for this "sacred boundary" in the late regal and early republican periods is extremely scarce.¹⁶⁹ Traditionally, the *pomerium* was marked out using stone *cippi*; however, no stone markers survive from before the reign of Claudius.¹⁷⁰ Carandini argued that a series of low stone walls associated with "open zones" around the Palatine, dating to the seventh and early sixth centuries, may be part of a primitive *pomerium*, but there is no direct evidence for this interpretation.¹⁷¹

The one area which gives some solid archaeological evidence for Rome's development in the period is the establishment of the *Forum Romanum* during the seventh and early sixth centuries. Prior to this time, the villages on Rome's hills were all linked by a series of tracks which connected the settlements to each other and to the *Forum Boarium*, or ancient cattle market, situated on the banks of the Tiber. Excavations in the *Forum Romanum* have suggested that around the end of the seventh century¹⁷² the

¹⁶⁵ The case of Ardea suggests that the nucleus of the city was actually a long way from the fortifications of the city, and the area encompassed by the walls actually contained uninhabited regions (Cornell 1995b: 199). In addition, Carandini has postulated that, even if the population was dense enough, the settlement would not have lapped up to the walls themselves because the fortifications may have acted as a primitive *pomerium*, which included an "open zone" between the fortifications and the settlement (Carandini 1990: 159–165).

¹⁶⁶ The establishment of the *pomerium* was associated with Servius Tullius, who, according to the literary sources (most notably Varro, *LL* 5.45) fixed the boundaries of Rome and divided it into four administrative districts (Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, and Palatina).

¹⁶⁷ *Plut. Rom.* 11. See Drogula 2007: 419–452 for full discussion.

¹⁶⁸ See Bourdieu 1989 for discussion of the importance of social space in community organization.

¹⁶⁹ Much of this evidence revolves around the possible Etruscan origins of the *pomerium* and will be discussed in-depth later.

¹⁷⁰ Antaya 1980: 185.

¹⁷¹ Carandini 1990: 159–165. This find has been used to hypothesize a series of individual hill fortifications (see Smith 1996: 153 for discussion). See also *LTUR* entries for the *pomerium* and the stone *cippi*.

¹⁷² This is the date put forward for the first paving of the *comitium* by Boni and Romanelli after a series of excavations carried out in the late nineteenth century AD (Boni 1899: 151–158) and is still

area between the hills was drained, alleviating what must have been extremely marshy conditions, and transformed into a pebbled marketplace.¹⁷³ Once this new public space was established, all roads in the area quickly began to lead to and from it, meaning that all communication between the various settlements now passed through this one communal point.¹⁷⁴ Ammerman has made some interesting points regarding the impetus behind this development, suggesting that it may have been in part a byproduct of Rome's emerging pottery industry as opposed to a wholly political development.¹⁷⁵ However, whatever its origin, the *Forum Romanum* very quickly took on civic importance and acted as the hub of activity in Rome.

The establishment of the *Forum Romanum*, along with the possible creation of the *pomerium*, indicates that the settlements at Rome may have begun to see themselves as a single urban entity by the early sixth century.¹⁷⁶ While this sense of identity may have been largely economic, political, and symbolic,¹⁷⁷ with many "Romans" maintaining the primacy of their traditional, local (and likely kinship-based) identities in their day-to-day lives, the existence of a larger, overarching identity is extremely important as it marks the end of the synoecizing of separate communities and the beginning of Rome's development as a single entity.¹⁷⁸

Despite the possible end of this period of synoecism at sites like Rome, it is clear that some settlements in Latium still maintained smaller satellite communities. At Fidenae, several small settlements dating to the fifth

generally accepted by modern scholars (for instance, Smith estimated that the Forum was first paved c. 650 and then again in c. 625 [Smith 1996: 102]). See also Ammerman 1990: 627–645, whose work has revealed several massive landfill operations in the Roman forum, and Carafa (1998), who argued for pushing the creation of the Forum Romanum back into the eighth century. See *LTUR* II: 313–336.

¹⁷³ Grant and Forman 1974: 36.

¹⁷⁴ The earliest detectable road leading from the Forum dates to c. 575 (*ibid.*: 44).

¹⁷⁵ Ammerman 2008 and 2009.

¹⁷⁶ Smith 1996: 103. Smith also noted that Rome's emergent communal festivals can be used to support the unity of the settlement during the period (*ibid.*: 152).

¹⁷⁷ See Bourdieu and Nice 1977: 72–95, 159–197 for a discussion of the symbolic character of *habitus* limits. See Feld and Basso 1996: 13–52 for a discussion of the ritualized limits inhabited space and its importance for community growth and development.

¹⁷⁸ This early sixth-century date seems to be supported by the evidence and is now generally accepted (Gjerstad 1966: 349). However, it is uncertain whether this civic and social identity was generated by the natural social cohesion of the inhabitants of Rome, or imposed from above by a *rex* or an external aristocracy. Either integral or imposed, it might have reflected some Etruscan influence because the tracing of later *pomeria* around colonies may have been done in accordance with an Etruscan ritual (Varro *LL* 5.45). Nonetheless, the crucial point is that the settlement at Rome did acquire and maintain this identity (Smith 1996: 100).

century have been discovered dispersed across the surrounding countryside.¹⁷⁹ There is also evidence for similar settlements near Satricum,¹⁸⁰ and the possibility of further examples near Praeneste.¹⁸¹ Even at Rome it is hard to say how defined the boundaries of the community were at this point in time, with “villa” sites and farmsteads on the outskirts of the community defying a clear definition in this liminal zone.¹⁸² The inhabitants of these types of settlements seem to have been buried in the area in which they worked, indicating a strong connection to their localized foci despite the road networks which linked these sites to the larger urban communities.¹⁸³ Indeed, given the flexibility of community membership or citizenship during this period, if such a term can even be used, it is hard to say with any certainty whether someone who lived within the community would have been considered any more “Roman” than someone who lived outside. As Drogula has argued, the archaic *pomerium* may have had more to do with delineating the area within which the *leges regiae* and *imperium domi* held sway than it did with defining civic identity.¹⁸⁴ Either way, given the continued process of unification and synoecism within Latin communities during the sixth century, along with the presence of localized communities surrounding various settlements, it is unlikely that the population would have always acted in a unified manner at this early period, because the disparate and disjointed nature of Latium’s settlement patterns would not have been conducive to this kind of unity. Indeed, if the *curiae* are in fact associated with Rome’s archaic proto-urban sub units, these localized centers were evidently still alive and well through the end of the century – albeit acting together via a single *comitia*.

Sixth-century fortifications

The fortifications of sixth-century settlements in Latium also provide some tantalizing hints about the nature of sixth-century warfare. Although

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 130–131. See also De Santis 1998. Recent Dutch work at Crustumerium is also relevant here (Barbaro 2013: 21–34). See Fulminante 2013: 41–42, 52–53, 160–166, 241–242 for discussion.

¹⁸⁰ Cornell 1985–1986: 132. Bedini suggested that this cluster of graves found outside Satricum may belong to a single clan or family unit which controlled the area (Bedini 1983).

¹⁸¹ See particularly Menichetti 1995. The interpretation of these small settlements near Praeneste is also slightly problematic, as much of the evidence for them is in the form of polygonal fortifications on hilltops in the mountains surrounding the city, with the result that they may represent the *oppida* referred to in the literary sources (Liv. 2.48, 10.45, Diod. 20.101). See Cornell 1995b: 306 for discussion.

¹⁸² See, most notably, the Auditorium Villa (Terrenato 2001). ¹⁸³ Smith 1996: 131.

¹⁸⁴ Drogula 2007.

fortifications naturally varied substantially depending on settlement size and topography, archaic Latin fortifications seem to have all been built along the same basic models, and for the same basic purposes. Beginning in the eighth and seventh centuries, many of the larger settlements, and groups of settlements, in Latium began to build series of large earthwork fortifications.¹⁸⁵ This building process continued largely unabated into the fourth century, with existing fortifications being expanded and reinforced throughout the period. Most commonly of the *agger* (mound) and *fossa* (ditch) type, these earthworks were often built at points around settlements without the natural defenses provided by cliffs and steep valleys.

The archaic fortifications at Ardea are typical of the type and are composed of a large *agger* fronted by a *fossa*.¹⁸⁶ Crossing the plateau between modern day Casalazzaro and Civita Vecchia, the fortifications stretched for approximately 600 m, broken only by a gateway with tufo revetments where the road passed from Ardea to wards the northeast.¹⁸⁷ The *agger* sloped inwards, toward the city, reaching a height of c. 9.3 m and a width of c. 35–37 m.¹⁸⁸ The *fossa*, which ran the length of the *agger*, was approximately 25 m wide. There is very little evidence available from the fortifications which can help to date them, but several possibilities have been put forward, based on both literary and comparative archaeological evidence. These range from the end of the sixth century until the middle of the fourth century.¹⁸⁹

The region of Apulia and the site of Veii used derivations of the *agger* and *fossa* fortifications.¹⁹⁰ The *aggeres* of Apulia were built using a combination of earth from the *fossa* and rubble, and may have been revetted on one or both sides with stones, in a style common in Sicily during the period.¹⁹¹ The fortifications at Veii are notable as the traditional *agger* fortification was combined with a breastwork of tufo masonry, and a sloping glacis along more open terrain.¹⁹² Similar in style to Rome's fourth-century walls, the fortifications at Veii date to an earlier period, probably the late fifth century, as opposed to the sixth century, and mark a slightly more advanced form of defense (see Fig. 3.2).¹⁹³

During the sixth and fifth centuries, Rome's hills and valleys had not yet been subject to the centuries of quarrying, truncation, terracing, infilling,

¹⁸⁵ Cornell 1995b: 199.

¹⁸⁶ Gjerstad 1966: 495. See also Crescenzi 1983 for discussion of archaic Ardea.

¹⁸⁷ Gjerstad 1966: 495. ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 495. ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 499–497. ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 499. ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*: 499.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*: 498. ¹⁹³ See Boethius 1978: 35, 75–94, 103–114.

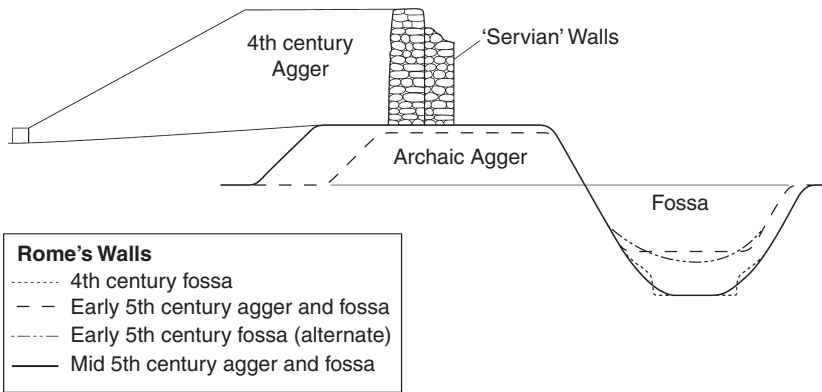


Fig. 3.2 Diagram of the archaic and republican fortifications at Rome

and shaping which have given them their current topography.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, they would have been much steeper, and would have stood out more prominently than they do today, with the result that they would have provided any settlements at the site with a substantial set of natural defenses.¹⁹⁵ By the sixth century, these natural defenses had been reinforced with series of man-made fortifications, including revetment walls, earthen *aggeres*, and *fossae*. Rome's earliest fortifications, found on the Palatine, date to the eighth century.¹⁹⁶ Remnants of later revetment walls, tentatively dated to the sixth century, have been found on both the Capitoline and Palatine hills.¹⁹⁷ While it seems that these later walls were initially intended to increase the natural defensive characteristics of the hills, portions of the walls may have served a dual purpose, as part of the Capitoline wall also served as a retaining wall for the terrace of the Area Capitolina behind the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁹⁸ The wall portions of Rome's early fortifications all resemble each other in technical aspects and were formed out of the same basic material: cappellaccio tufo.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ See Carandini 2006 for possible reconstructions of early Rome's topography.

¹⁹⁵ Smith 2000: 18. ¹⁹⁶ Carandini *et al.* 1992 and *LTUR* III: 315–317.

¹⁹⁷ Many portions of the fortifications cannot be dated with certainty; however, it is generally accepted that these fortifications are earlier than the walls of 478, and definitely earlier than the Servian fortifications of the fourth century. The best chronological evidence for the fortifications is given by the *cappellaccio* wall on the northern slope of the Capitoline, where it is likely that the wall was constructed at the same time as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and can therefore be assigned a date in the last third of the sixth century (Gjerstad 1966: 352). See also *LTUR* III: 315–334, V: 277–279.

¹⁹⁸ Gjerstad 1966: 352. ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: 352.

Although the tufo blocks are irregular, with heights varying between 24 and 31 cm and width varying between 60 and 90 cm, they form a consistent pattern of courses with headers and stretchers.²⁰⁰ The *agger* at Rome was typical for settlements in Latium during the period and stretched across the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills, reinforcing the north and north-eastern approaches which were without any natural defenses. This particular set of fortifications seems to have been built in two separate stages. The first stage had a height of c. 5.5 m and a width of c. 28 m at the base, and is indicated by fragments of *tagulae* (semicircular cover-tiles) and *imbrices* (flat rain-tiles) in the fill of the *agger*.²⁰¹ It has not been dated conclusively, but it has been argued that belongs to the late sixth or early fifth century, as suggested by the presence of a red figured *kylix* found in the same stratum as the foundation.²⁰²

These sixth-century Latin fortifications all had certain characteristics in common. They all took advantage of the natural defensive features of the sites and they tended to try to block the easiest routes of access into the settlement. Additionally, the length of the fortifications and the sizes of the areas which they enclosed were very large, particularly when compared to the estimated populations of the various settlements, hinting that they may not have been consistently manned and likely incorporated significant sections of open space.²⁰³ Consequently, it is likely that they were designed to slow down or prevent quick raids and surprise attacks, rather than defend against prolonged assaults. Finally, and most importantly, although complete circuit walls seem to have represented the ideal, they were evidently not required. Instead, the Latins seemed to be far more interested in reinforcing areas with limited natural defenses, often with quite substantial works, than they were in constructing full circuit walls.²⁰⁴ This suggests that communities were more interested in stopping quick/unexpected attacks than they were with protecting against determined sieges, and also that they may have lacked a single concerted plan for their fortifications. At Rome, for instance, each hill seems to have had its own set of fortifications, with many of the areas between the hills remaining undefended until the construction of the city's fourth century walls.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 352. ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 352–354. ²⁰² *Ibid.*: 353.

²⁰³ It should be noted that the line of Rome's sixth-century fortifications was different from the line of Rome's fourth century fortifications, particularly across the Esquiline plateau, but still encompassed a large amount of territory.

²⁰⁴ The disjointed nature of sixth century fortifications also seems to support the fragmented nature of communities in Latium during the period.

²⁰⁵ Bernard 2012: 37–38 and Cifani 2012.

A Roman hoplite phalanx?

Given the demonstrated importance of the region's gentilicial elite in Latin warfare, some attention should also be paid to the role of the region's urban communities, particularly given the traditional presence of "hoplite warfare" in Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries.²⁰⁶ This type of warfare, characterized by heavily armored soldiers moving slowly in densely packed formations, represents the archetypal community-based mode of warfare in the ancient world, which is largely seen as antithetical to the highly individualistic mode of combat utilized in raiding.²⁰⁷ The Romans themselves clearly thought that they once fought in a hoplite phalanx sometime in their early history, a practice which they claimed to have acquired from the Etruscans, and this is often taken as evidence of Rome's civic and military cohesion from this point on.²⁰⁸ Livy's characterization of the Servian Constitution seems to corroborate this model. His description of the armor worn by the men of the first Servian class²⁰⁹ is remarkably similar to the equipment typically associated with archaic Greek hoplites.²¹⁰ The discovery of bronze armor in both Etruria and Latium dating to the archaic period, coupled with a strong iconographic tradition in both regions which depicted men equipped in a "hoplite style," has also been used to support this model.²¹¹ In particular, the presence of large circular shields (*aspides*) in archaic central Italian burials,²¹² similar to the Greek *hoplon*, has been taken as evidence that at least a variation of hoplite warfare was practiced in the region,²¹³ although the clearly ceremonial nature of some of these shields has cast some doubt on this assumption.²¹⁴

²⁰⁶ For a representative sample see Helbig 1905, McCartney 1915–1916, Meyer 1923, Nilsson 1929, and Snodgrass 1965 in addition to Cornell 1995b, Keppie 1998, and Potter 2004 for the continuation of this theme of modern scholarship.

²⁰⁷ See Connolly 1981: 37–63 for a description of hoplite warfare. See also Hanson 1991 and Hanson 2000 for the limitations of hoplite arms and armor.

²⁰⁸ This is most evident in the *Ineditum Vaticanum* (Arnim 1892). ²⁰⁹ Liv. 1.43.

²¹⁰ Connolly 1981: 37–63; van Wees 2004: 47–52. ²¹¹ See, for instance, Cornell 1995b: 183–186.

²¹² See Connolly 1981 for discussion. See Stary 1981 for a catalogue of relevant finds.

²¹³ Cornell 1995b: 183–186.

²¹⁴ More than eighty round bronze shields of Italian origin have been found, which vary in size from 50 cm to 97 cm. Although many seem to have been functional *aspides* (most notably the "Bomarzo" or "Vatican" shield, unearthed near Bomarzo and now located in the Vatican museum), others were made from embossed bronze, which did not seem to be fixed to a wooden core (as with the Greek *hoplon*). Rather, the handgrip and strap fasteners were fixed directly to the bronze. Their construction is similar to Argive shields found at Olympia and were clearly made for ceremonial purposes only (Connolly 1981: 94). Connolly argued that, despite this ceremonial nature, these shields were likely based on more functional examples made of wood or rawhide (*ibid.*: 94), although no evidence of these hypothetical shields has survived.

In recent years, however, the existence of a Roman hoplite phalanx has been questioned from a number of different angles. Most notably, van Wees' redating/reworking of the origins of hoplite warfare in Greece, Rey's work on technological determinism in ancient warfare, and Rosenstein's deconstruction of the literary tradition for the adoption of the phalanx by the Romans have all served to erode the foundation of this long held tenant.²¹⁵ Indeed, upon closer examination the evidence for hoplite warfare in Rome, and central Italy more generally, is not nearly as robust as it initially appeared.

The literary evidence typically used to support the presence of a hoplite phalanx in early Rome comes from four main sources: the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Perhaps surprising, the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, a first-century Greek text of unknown authorship, is one of the most widely cited sources to support the presence of hoplite warfare in Rome.²¹⁶ In it, the author described a dialogue between a Roman embassy, led by a man named Kaeso (likely either of the Fabii or the Quinctii),²¹⁷ and a Carthaginian embassy before the outbreak of the first Punic War. When the Carthaginians wonder how the Romans will fight a war against a strong naval power, when they had neither a fleet nor naval experience, the Roman ambassador replies:

This is what we Romans are like . . . with those who make war on us we agree to fight on their terms, and when it comes to foreign practices we surpass those who have long used them. For the Tyrrhenians used to make war on us with bronze shields and fighting in phalanx formation, not in maniples; and we, changing our armament and replacing it with theirs, organized our forces against them, and contending thus against men who had long been accustomed to phalanx battles we were victorious. Similarly, the Samnite shield was not part of our national equipment, nor did we have javelins, but fought with round shields and spears; nor were we strong in cavalry, but all or nearly all of Rome's strength lay in infantry. But when we found ourselves at war with the Samnites we armed ourselves with their oblong shields and javelins, and fought against them on horseback, and by copying foreign arms we became masters of those who thought so highly of themselves.²¹⁸

While the source only claimed that the Romans fought in a phalanx prior to the adoption of the classic Italic shield and javelin, a move which was

²¹⁵ van Wees 2004: 166–184, 233–235; Rey 2010: 21–56; Rosenstein 2010: 289–303.

²¹⁶ See von Armin 1892 for full text and manuscript context.

²¹⁷ Badian tentatively identified this figure as Kaeso Fabius (Badian 1964), which may lend credence to the suggestion that this source was ultimately derived from Fabius Pictor (the suggestion that the *Ineditum Vaticanum* was actually a part of the history of Fabius Pictor has long since fallen out of favor). Kaeso was also a popular name among the Quinctii (Hoyos 1997: 69).

²¹⁸ Von Armin 1892: 118–130, trans. Cornell 1995.

typically associated with the adoption of manipular tactics during the fourth century, the association between the adoption of this style of warfare and conflicts with the Tyrrhenians (i.e. Etruscans) seems to place this event sometime in the sixth or fifth centuries.²¹⁹

The text of the *Ineditum Vaticanum* closely parallels a passage from Diodorus Siculus' *The Library of History*, which provides the same basic description with a few additions:²²⁰

For example, in ancient times, when [the Romans] were using oval shields,²²¹ the Etruscans, who fought with round shields of bronze and in a phalanx formation, impelled them to adopt similar arms and were in consequence defeated. Then again, when other peoples were using shields such as the Romans now use, and were fighting in maniples, they had imitated both and had overcome those who introduced the excellent models. From the Greeks they learned siegecraft and the use of engines for war for demolishing walls, and had then forced the cities to do their bidding.²²²

A third passage, found in Livy, also describes the Roman army as once fighting in a phalanx formation:

The Romans had formerly used *clipeis*; then, after they began to serve for pay, they made oblong shields instead of round ones; and what had been a phalanx, like the Macedonian phalanxes, came afterwards to be a line of battle formed by maniples, with the rearmost troops drawn up in a number of companies (*ordines*).²²³

²¹⁹ Rome's most significant struggles against Etruscan opponents were largely put to rest by the Gallic invasion of 390 and the subsequent Roman victory over Etruscan forces at Sutrium in 389 (Liv. 6.2–3), although Rome would continue to fight against various Etruscan armies throughout the fourth century – most notably against Tarquinia in the 350s (Liv. 7.12–22) and in the second Samnite War.

²²⁰ Diod. Sic. 23.2. This description was later taken up by the Greek writer Athenaeus in the second century AD (Ath. 6.273), although Athenaeus' version added to the description even further, noting the adoption of nautical devices from the Phoenicians and the javelin from the Spaniards (a point which is likely incorrect, because archaeology indicates that the *pilum* was in use in Italy well before the Romans became involved in Spain (Small 2000)).

²²¹ *Θυπέος* is understood to have represented the Latin *scutum*, and *ἄσπις* the Latin *clipeus* (Walton 1967: 85). The terms *clipeus* and *scutum* are also slightly ambiguous, as they were often used as generic terms meaning simply "shield," particularly for the later Roman army. However, during the late Republic the meaning was evidently much more specific as Varro, citing Ennius, clearly identified the *clipeus* as being a large, circular shield (Varro LL 5.19.6), while the *scutum* represented an oval shield (Varro LL 5.115.4). The definitions were followed by many late republican authors (most notably Ovid and Virgil), and Livy used these definitions to identify specific shield types in his narrative.

²²² Diod. Sic. 23.2 (trans. Oldfather)

²²³ *Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanx similis Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremi in plures ordines instruebantur.* Liv. 8.8. (text, Foster 1926, trans. adapted from Foster's translation).

Further context for these passages is often provided by referring to both Livy's and Dionysius' descriptions of the Servian Constitution, and particularly the equipment worn by the first class.²²⁴ Livy noted:

Out of those who had a rating of a hundred thousand asses or more [Servius] made eighty centuries . . . The armor which these men were required to provide consisted of helmet, round shield, greaves, and breastplate, all of bronze, for the protection of their bodies; their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword.²²⁵

While Dionysius stated:

He selected from the whole number of the citizens one part, consisting of those whose property was rated the highest and amounted to no less than one hundred *minae*. Of these he formed eighty centuries (λόχους), whom he ordered to be armed with Argolic shields (ὀπλά), with spears, bronze helmets, corselets, greaves and swords.²²⁶

This collection of equipment matches the descriptions offered in the passages from Livy, Diodorus, and the author of the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, and naturally corresponds closely to the archetypal panoply of the Greek hoplite.²²⁷ As a result, some scholars have argued that the Servian reforms of the mid sixth century marked the transition to a hoplite phalanx.²²⁸

As Rosenstein has argued, however, there are some issues with this literary tradition.²²⁹ The similarities between the passages from the *Ineditum Vaticanum* and Diodorus' *Library of History* are unmistakable and, given that both sources were part of a Greek tradition and date to the first century, it is highly likely that they were both derived from a single source.²³⁰ The relationship between these passages and the description of the phalanx in Livy is more strained, but several distinct points of correlation are notable. All three discuss both the equipment and tactical disposition of the early Roman army in a similar manner, with particular reference to the type of shield used at various points. All three present this

²²⁴ For instance, see Snodgrass 1965: 119 and Cornell 1995b: 183–186.

²²⁵ *Ex iis qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum 43 haberent octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum; prima classis omnes appellati; seniores ad 2 urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent; arma bis imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere; haec ut tegumenta corporis essent: tela in hostem hastaque et gladius.* Livy 1.43 (text and trans Foster 1926).

²²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.16 (trans. Cary).

²²⁷ The actual nature of the Greek hoplite's panoply varied greatly during both the archaic and classical periods, depending on a wide range of factors. See van Wees 2004: 45–60.

²²⁸ See most recently Thomsen 1980: 200. ²²⁹ Rosenstein 2010: 289–303.

²³⁰ Von Armin noticed the similarities in his 1892 examination of the *Ineditum Vaticanum* and suggested that the original source was Fabius Pictor (von Armin 1892: 130).

description in the context of Rome's shift to the manipular legion. Additionally, all three present this discussion of Rome's early tactics within a portion of their respective narratives which generally relates to the late fourth or early third century, and not in a sixth or fifth century context as might be expected.²³¹ As a result, while there is some degree of variation, particularly in the Livian text, it is possible that all three passages were ultimately derived from a single description.²³²

The late fourth/early third century context of the descriptions in all three narratives may offer some clue as to its source. Given the tendency of ancient authors to work from a few particular sources, depending on the period about which they were writing, it is likely that this description was contained in a source which discussed the early third century.²³³ This late date is supported by the fact that Livy, Diodorus, and the author of the *Ineditum Vaticanum* only discussed the use of a phalanx in Rome in the context of Rome's later shift to using maniples, thus hinting that the source from which this description was derived was itself written after Rome's traditional transition to manipular tactics during the fourth century. Additionally, Livy's use of the Macedonian phalanx as a comparison to Rome's early phalanx (quite anachronistically, as it turns out)²³⁴ also corroborates this date, because the Macedonian phalanx came into use throughout the Mediterranean during the late fourth and third centuries.

The Greek world first became seriously interested in Rome in its own right in the context of the Pyrrhic War (c. 280–275), when Rome burst onto the Mediterranean scene by defeating one of the preeminent armies of the Hellenistic world. Consequently, the most extensive early histories of Rome, those by Hieronymus of Cardia (d. c. 250) and Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 356–c. 260), dated from the early third century and were focused around Rome's exploits in the Pyrrhic War. Given the hypothetical date of origin for this description, it is possible (and arguably

²³¹ This is particularly notable in Livy's history, given its span and scope. It is possible that Livy's interpretation may have represented a later transmission. The similarities between the Greek sources hint that the original may have been written in Greek, while Livy may have acquired his version from one of the second-century Latin annalists, who had previously derived it from a Greek source.

²³² As noted above, the variation in the Livian description may have been the result of its transmission through one or more earlier Latin sources. Livy's primary sources for the first decade were Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, and Aelius Tubero (Walsh 1996: 115), while Diodorus tended to use earlier Greek writers (Drews 1962: 384).

²³³ For a description of Livy's historical practices see Walsh 1996: 110–172. For Dionysius and first-century Greek historians see Gabba 1991.

²³⁴ The Macedonian phalanx consisted of *sarissophoroi* with small round shields, not the *doruphoroi* with large round shields of the classical hoplite phalanx (Connolly 1981: 11–85 and, more recently, Sekunda 2007: 325–357).

likely) that the description of Rome's early army as a phalanx may have originated in one of these sources.²³⁵ The use of the Macedonian phalanx as a comparative example in Livy also supports this set of sources as a possible point of origin, because this type of formation formed the core of Pyrrhus' army and would therefore have been a natural and logical comparison to Rome's tactical formation at this time.

The fact that these descriptions of early Rome's military forces may have ultimately originated in a third century Greek source does not necessarily invalidate them. On the contrary, it informs the present understanding of the social and historiographical biases at work. For instance, while it seems that early Greek historians made use of some local traditions when writing their histories, it is unlikely that most ever visited Rome or made extensive use of any of Rome's native proto-historical traditions.²³⁶ Additionally, it must be noted that these Greek historians were writing in a Greek genre, for a Greek audience.²³⁷ It has therefore been argued that these early Greek historians were responsible for much of the extensive Greek influence on the Roman historical tradition.²³⁸

Recognizing this strong Greek influence has a dramatic impact on how descriptions like this should be read, and particularly the references to Roman phalanxes in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the fourth source of literary evidence for this type of military formation. For instance, Snodgrass drew attention to Dionysius' claim that the Romans fought in a phalanx during the Battle of Lake Regillus as proof of a phalanx in Rome.²³⁹ The language which Dionysius used to describe the battle itself, however, casts doubt on how much emphasis should be placed on his choice of the word "phalanx" in the battle description. The account begins promisingly enough, with Dionysius describing the Roman army with "the light-armed men and the horse on each side, then the solid ranks of foot, who were armed and drawn up alike" (πρῶτον μὲν οἱ φιλοὶ τε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρων, ἔπειθ' αἱ πεζαὶ φάλαγγες ὀπλισμούς τε καὶ τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσαι). But his description of the ensuing battle, "and all mingling, a severe battle ensued in which every man fought hand to hand" (καὶ γίνετα

²³⁵ Gabba 1991: 13. Despite Diodorus' assertions that he had acquired a "considerable familiarity" (1.4.4) with the Latin language, it is likely that the vast majority of his sources were written in Greek. The exact nature and scope of Diodorus' sources is still debated, but his principle authorities have been identified as Ephorus, Timaeus, Hieronymus of Cardia, Polybius, and Posidonius (Drews 1962: 384).

²³⁶ See Cornell 1995b: 8. The notable exception is Timaeus, who may have visited the city.

²³⁷ See Hölscher 2003 for the importance of ideological and sociological motifs in the representation of warfare in ancient art and iconography

²³⁸ Walsh 1996: 83. ²³⁹ Snodgrass 1965: 119.

πάντων ἀναμίξ μαχομένων καρτερὸς ἄγων καὶ ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα ἡ μάχη) clearly indicated an army which did not fight in a phalanx.²⁴⁰ The word ἀναμίξ in particular indicated an intermingling which would not have occurred in a classic hoplite clash.²⁴¹ This loose nature is also exemplified by Dionysius' description in book 16, where he noted that "the phalanx was widely spaced and lax" (φάλαγγα ἀσπάθητον οὔσαν καὶ λαγαπᾶν).²⁴² it must be noted, however, that because the passage is so fragmentary it is uncertain whether the phalanx in question belonged to the Romans or the Samnites. Consequently, the use of the word "phalanx" (φάλαγγα) may simply have been a means of describing an organized collection of infantry, and not specifically a traditional hoplite phalanx.²⁴³

The validity of these accounts in ascribing a hoplite phalanx to early Rome has also been cast into doubt by research into the possibility of hoplite warfare in Etruria. Many of the arguments surrounding the Roman adoption of hoplite tactics have been based on the Roman proximity to Etruria, a region which was thought to have fielded hoplite armies, and the supposed need to counter hoplites with hoplites of one's own in battle.²⁴⁴ Both Diodorus Siculus and the author of the *Ineditum Vaticanum* explicitly claimed that the Romans acquired the phalanx from the Tyrrhenians/Etruscans; however, the very possibility of the Roman's acquiring hoplite warfare from the Etruscans has recently been challenged.

That the Etruscans had used a hoplite phalanx sometime in the sixth century was, until recently, a widely held belief.²⁴⁵ In 1963, Momigliano began to raise doubts, noting the seeming incompatibility of the Etruscan system of *gentes*, nobles, and *clientes*, and the community ethos represented by the phalanx.²⁴⁶ More recently d'Agostino argued that phalanx warfare, along the lines of what existed in archaic and classical Greece, did not exist in Etruria.²⁴⁷ Noting both the presence of weapons other than the spear in

²⁴⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.10.

²⁴¹ Dionysius also referred to the Romans utilizing a phalanx against the Sabines (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.23), noting that "whenever cavalry clashed with cavalry, infantry with infantry, and phalanx against phalanx, the Sabines always came off superior to the Romans." However, it is evident that this description is based upon Dionysius' understanding of the basic nature of warfare, as opposed to a specific description of actual events.

²⁴² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 16.3.

²⁴³ This difference is borne out by Livy's comparison of the Macedonian phalanx in 9.19: "In both armies the soldiers fought in line rank by rank, but the Macedonian phalanx lacked mobility and formed a single unit; the Roman army was more elastic, made up of numerous divisions, which could easily act separately or in combination as required."

²⁴⁴ Snodgrass 1965: 119. ²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 118. ²⁴⁶ Momigliano 1963: 119.

²⁴⁷ Although, paradoxically, d'Agostino thought that a hoplite phalanx was possible in Rome, and agreed with the traditional model which associates its creation with the Servian reforms of the mid sixth century (d'Agostino 1990: 80–81).

iconographic representations of warriors in Etruria, most notably the axe, and the continued dominance of the *gens* in Etruscan society, d'Agostino argued for a "gentilicial hoplite phalanx" in Etruria which may have been armed in hoplite fashion, but was organized along gentilicial lines.²⁴⁸

There was also a strong tradition of individual combat in archaic Rome, which directly contradicted the hoplite ethos. As Oakley argued, rather than being a rare occurrence, single combat seems to have been a relatively common occurrence in the regal period.²⁴⁹ Following Snodgrass, among others, Oakley supposed that this aristocratic way of war was gradually supplanted by hoplite warfare during the sixth or fifth century, seemingly contradicting his earlier claim that monomachy remained an integral part of Roman warfare well into the late Republic.²⁵⁰

The archaeological support for hoplite warfare in Rome and central Italy is also not as strong as has often been supposed. The bulk of the evidence is iconographic, and for Rome in the sixth and fifth centuries consists of a few of terracotta frieze fragments and fragmentary pediment figures.²⁵¹ The fragmentary acroterial group from the temple of Mater Matuta, found at the S. Omobono site in Rome, consists of the head and shoulders of Minerva, who is depicted wearing a crested helmet and what appears to be part of a cuirass or corselet, and the figure of Heracles, depicted in his typical lion skin.²⁵² This grouping, although fragmentary and representing mythical characters, has been cited by scholars to demonstrate the use of a "Greek-style helmet" in archaic Rome.²⁵³ Minerva's cheek pieces and crest closely resembles the Chalkidian style helmets²⁵⁴ which were common in both Greece and Italy²⁵⁵ during the sixth century.²⁵⁶ However, the

²⁴⁸ d'Agostino 1990: 80–81. ²⁴⁹ Oakley 1985: 396. ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 398.

²⁵¹ Other fragments have been interpreted as coming from friezes which may have had military related content (see, for instance, *GRT*: 95 and Stary 1981), although the surviving portions do not contain military equipment or demonstrate any conclusive association.

²⁵² This figure may also be associated with a fragment of a hand, which Gjerstad argues may have held a spear (Gjerstad 1966: 456).

²⁵³ Stary 1981: 154–155.

²⁵⁴ This type of helmet seems to be based ultimately on the "Corinthian" style helmet, with Greek armorers overcoming some of the inherent deficiencies in the Corinthian design by creating cutouts for the ears and enlarging the face opening in the Chalkidian variant. These changes served to create a lighter helmet, and allowed for greater vision and hearing, while still providing excellent protection (Paddock 1993: 265).

²⁵⁵ See *ibid.*: 278 for a full distribution and dating chart for Italy.

²⁵⁶ Archaeological evidence indicates the presence of this type of helmet in Greece by the early sixth century and in southern Italy soon after. By the end of the sixth century its distribution had reached as far north as Campania. Despite the obvious association with Greece and Greek settlements in Italy, it has been argued, plausibly, that these Italo-Chalkidian helmets were not imported but were produced in southern Italic workshops (Snodgrass 1967: 69–70). Contemporaneously with the arrival of the Chalkidian helmet in southern Italy, an indigenous Etruscan variant appeared in northern and central



Fig. 3.3 Part of an acroterial group from a temple pediment, sixth century, Rome

mythical subject matter hardly makes for a reliable association of its equipment with actual warfare practices, and it is likely to have been inspired by Greek models – if not actually created by a Greek craftsman.²⁵⁷ A fragmentary pediment figure found on the Esquiline Hill in Rome²⁵⁸ (see Fig. 3.3) depicts a wounded warrior in armor.²⁵⁹ The figure is shown wearing a decorated *chiton* or tunic, which is visible at the shoulders, covered by a decorated corselet with rectangular shoulder pieces which end in semisecontional tabs.²⁶⁰ The figure's extended left arm is carrying a circular shield, or *clipeus*, of which portions are still preserved.²⁶¹ The corselet which the warrior is wearing resembles the linen or composite corselet which was common in Greece and southern Italy during the period, and may indicate its presence in Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries – or at least that it was a recognizable piece of military equipment.²⁶² However, by the sixth century, the linen corselet was also the most widely illustrated form of armor across the Mediterranean world, from Persia westwards to Italy, with the result that its presence in Rome may be more an indication of artistic influence

Italy (Paddock 1993: 265–266). See *ibid* for a complete catalogue of Italian bronze helmets for the archaic and early republican periods.

²⁵⁷ The item may also have been a votive deposit, as it was associated with the Temple of Mater Matuta in the ancient *Forum Boarium*.

²⁵⁸ The fragment was found near a hypothesized cult area on the Esquiline hill (GRT: 144).

²⁵⁹ The figure was thought to be a wounded Amazon when examined in situ, but is now considered, after closer examination, to be a wounded male warrior which was once part of a battle scene pediment (Gjerstad 1966: 456; GRT 144).

²⁶⁰ Gjerstad 1966: 456. ²⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 456.

²⁶² See Burns 2005:103–108 for a detailed analysis of the linen corselet in southern Italic warfare and art. For Greek use of the linen cuirass, see van Wees 2004, Snodgrass 1967, Connolly 1981, etc.

than military reality.²⁶³ Moreover, the linen construction of the corselet means that its survival in the archaeological record is unlikely, so there may be no way to ever conclusively prove its use.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, despite these qualifications, linen cuirasses seem to have been a common and less expensive alternative to bronze armor throughout the Hellenized world.

The circular shield, or *clipeus*, carried by the wounded warrior may have several correlations within both the archaeological and iconographic records for central and southern Italy. It must be reiterated that no archaeological examples of circular shields, or indeed shields in general, have been excavated from Latium which date to the period in question. However, circular shields of similar size have been unearthed in Latium, and Rome specifically, which date from earlier periods.²⁶⁵ In addition, there are several examples of the *clipeus* present in the archaeological record for the sixth and fifth centuries in southern Italy,²⁶⁶ Umbria, and Etruria.²⁶⁷ The corroborating iconographic evidence for the *clipeus* in central Italy is even more prevalent, with examples appearing in Latin contexts and throughout the Italian peninsula.²⁶⁸

It must be noted, however, that all circular shields are not necessarily the same, as the way in which the shield is carried plays a very significant role in how it may be used. Most large circular shields from the ancient world are often assumed to be similar to the Greek *hoplon*,²⁶⁹ which was carried using a central *porpax*, or arm rest, and an *antilabe*, or hand grip near the rim, with the result that a large portion of the shield protruded to the left of the warrior, possibly creating the overlapping effect with any warrior standing to the left.²⁷⁰ The *porpax/antilabe* carriage is therefore often understood to have dictated the overlapping shield wall formation,²⁷¹ one of the defining

²⁶³ Burns 2005: 103; Stary 1981: Pl. 24. It has been argued that the artist who produced the figure was from Magna Grecia (Cornell 1979–1980: 85).

²⁶⁴ The existence or absence of corselets is actually irrelevant to the practice of hoplite warfare *per se*. While some Greek warriors clearly wore corselets and it was prominent in the iconographic tradition in Greece, it was not necessarily very common on the ground. Xenophon noted that during the march of the 10,000 only a few dozen could be collected (Xen. *An.* 1.2.15–16), and in 399 only one in ten soldiers in the well-equipped Syracusan army wore a cuirass (van Wees 2004: 48).

²⁶⁵ Note the fragmentary bronze shield unearthed in Tomb XCIV from the Esquiline necropolis (Latial period IIB), the bronze shield from Castel Decima, and the similar shield from the warrior tomb at Cerveteri (Stary 1981: Beilage 4; Gjerstad 1966: 252–253).

²⁶⁶ Burns 2005: 147–152. ²⁶⁷ Stary 1981: Beilage 1 and 6.

²⁶⁸ See Burns 2005: 147–152; Sannibale 1998: 114–122.

²⁶⁹ These types of shields have been found in burial contexts from southern Italy (see Burns 2005: 147–172), and are supported by iconographic evidence from central Italy (see below).

²⁷⁰ See van Wees 2004: 166–198 and Hanson 2000: 55–88 for discussion of classic hoplite combat.

²⁷¹ See, for instance, Connolly 1981: 53.

features of the hoplite phalanx, albeit with some significant discussion about which came first, the formation or the shield carriage.²⁷² However, circular shields from archaic Latium were often carried using a single central hand grip,²⁷³ and side views of some Etruscan shields show evidence that they were sometimes carried using two central grips,²⁷⁴ indicating that shields may have been carried more centrally to the body, and would not have had the overlap which is often (although perhaps incorrectly) associated with the hoplite phalanx.²⁷⁵ This shift in how the shield was carried would also have effected how it could be used in battle. In a hoplite battle, one could put one's shoulder into the shield and push, a feature commonly known as the *othismos*;²⁷⁶ however, with the two central grips, the shoulder position, relative to the shield, would not allow this.

Three of the four terracotta frieze fragments from Rome (two discovered in the Forum and one whose specific provenance is unknown) also illustrate the use of circular shields by Roman cavalry in warfare. In two fragments warriors are seen on horseback, carrying circular shields and long spears, a third depicts a warrior on horseback wearing large crested helmets, while the fourth depicts what may be an infantryman carrying a large circular shield, following what may be either a horse or a cavalryman. This evidence reaffirms that the circular shields found in Latium and central Italy did not necessarily indicate "hoplite" warfare or even the presence of heavy infantry, as it is possible that they were used by cavalry.²⁷⁷

This iconographic evidence from Rome for the second half of the sixth century closely parallels contemporary iconographic and artefactual material from Latium more generally dating to the sixth and fifth centuries.²⁷⁸ This consists of several terracotta frieze fragments, including well-known Signia warriors (Fig. 3.4), the warrior frieze from Satricum (Fig. 3.5), and the pedimental group from the Temple to Juno Moneta at Falerii Veteres

²⁷² See van Wees 2004: 47–60, for a detailed discussion. ²⁷³ Connolly 1981: 94–95.

²⁷⁴ There is also iconographic evidence from Etruria and central Italy depicting the *propax/antilabe* carriage. See particularly the acroterial group from the Temple of Mercury at Falerii Veteres, in addition to tomb paintings (see *ibid.*: 97 for examples).

²⁷⁵ Hans van Wees has argued convincingly that the *propax/antilabe* carriage did not necessarily dictate a tight, overlapping-shield formation, as with a sideways-stance a warrior could locate himself behind the center of a *hoplon* carried using the *propax* and *antilabe* (van Wees 2004: 168–170); however, an overlapping-shield formation would have been possible.

²⁷⁶ See *ibid.*: 188–192 and Hanson 2000: 171–184 for the mechanics of hoplite warfare and the *othismos*.

²⁷⁷ Another possibility is that these figures may represent "mounted hoplites," as suggested by Helbig (1902) and more recently by Greenhalgh (1973), or heavy infantry who rode to the location of a battle, then dismounted and fought on foot, although there is no evidence that central Italian warriors ever utilized this tactic.

²⁷⁸ See Stary 1981 for an overview.

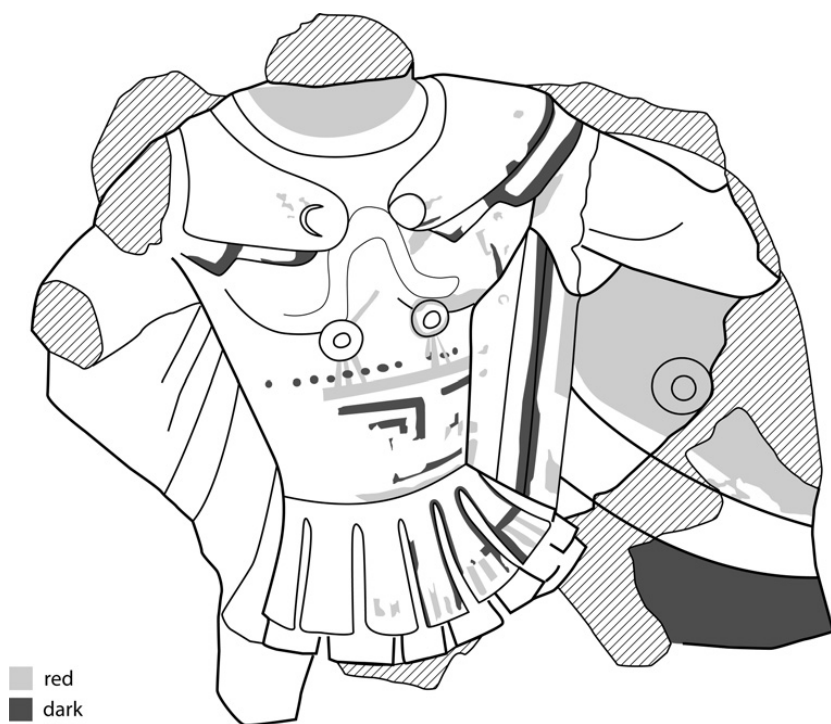


Fig. 3.4 Frieze fragment from the Temple to Juno Moneta, fifth century, Signia

(Fig. 3.6). In addition, a wide range of depictions from Velitrae, Praeneste, Satricum, and Lavinium, show warriors equipped with large circular shields and what appears to be heavy armor. Military equipment finds from the region, including the bronze helmet and cuirass from the fifth-century warrior's burial from Lanuvium, also support the presence of heavy bronze body armor. Some scholars have raised the issue of the problematic nature of iconographic evidence, the influence of various artistic traditions, and the ritual character of the funerary depositions.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the unanimity of the evidence from central Italy strongly supports the use of bronze panoplies at the time.

Later iconographic evidence further suggests that the classic hoplite panoply was not used in a hoplite phalanx formation in Latium. Most notably the circular shield was often depicted in conjunction with javelins

²⁷⁹ See particularly Rawson 1971.



Fig. 3.5 Frieze fragment from the Temple to Mater Matuta, fifth century, Satricum

by the fourth century, most notably in the tomb paintings at Paestum²⁸⁰ (Figs. 3.7 and 3.8). Additionally, although typically associated with hoplite warfare, there are strong parallels between the characteristic central Italian panoply (Lanuvium, etc.) and the armor utilized by “Celtic” warriors in northern Italy, Switzerland, and Austria.²⁸¹ The warrior graves of these peoples tend to contain the same basic set of items as those associated with hoplite graves in central Italy, including large shields (both oval and circular), spears, helmets, breastplates, and swords.²⁸² “Celtic” warriors

²⁸⁰ See also the Chigi vase, which seems to show warriors carrying both the circular *aspis* and what appear to be javelins, although the Greek origin (Corinthian) of the vase makes any direct association with central Italian warfare problematic.

²⁸¹ See Marzatico, Gleirscher, and Castello 2004, particularly 210–348. ²⁸² *Ibid.*: 374.



Fig. 3.6 Part of an acroterial group from a temple pediment (Temple of Mercury?), fifth century, Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana)

are also often buried with a characteristic large bronze belt, which Burns has argued was an important part of the Italic warrior's panoply,²⁸³ and which is often found in warrior graves in central Italy which are typically associated with hoplites. "Celtic" warriors are not generally thought to have fought in a phalanx formation, so it is clear that this particular panoply should not necessarily be associated with hoplite phalanx warfare.

Snodgrass argued that hoplite equipment was not diametrically opposed to *gens*-based warfare, noting that men equipped in hoplite equipment could and did take part in gentilicial warfare.²⁸⁴ Indeed, there are numerous examples from Greece of this type of behavior. While Snodgrass opined that these hoplite-equipped, *gens*-based forces would have fought in something resembling a phalanx formation, van Wees' arguments relating to the use of hoplite equipment in different tactical situations in

²⁸³ Burns 2005: 131–146.

²⁸⁴ Snodgrass 1965: 119.

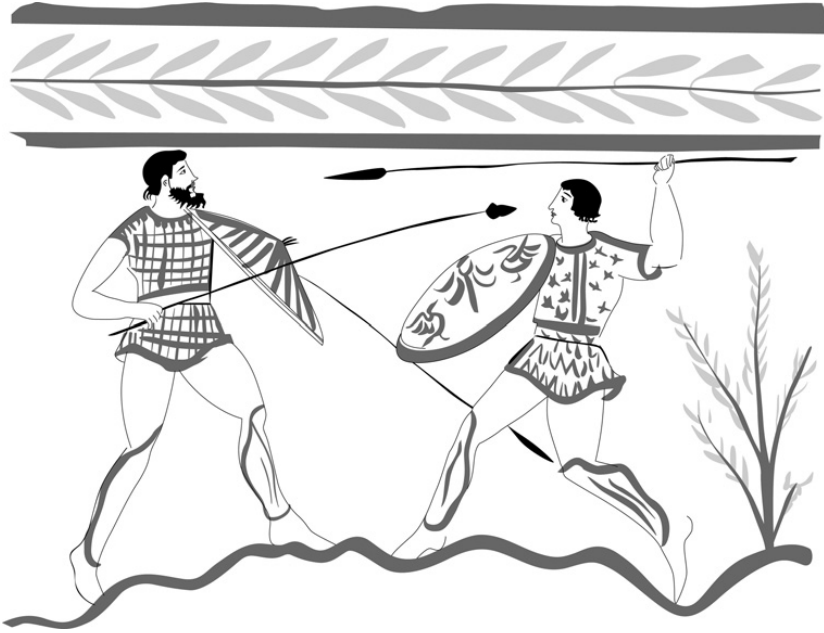


Fig. 3.7 Tomb painting from Tomb Arcioni 1 (western slab), fourth century, Paestum

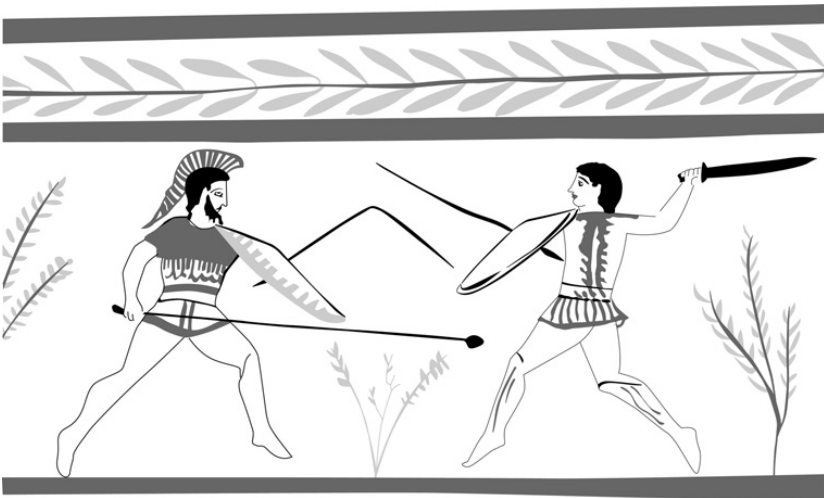


Fig. 3.8 Tomb painting from Tomb Arcioni 271 (southern slab), fourth century, Paestum

Greece, and most notably the individualized combat described in Homer, illustrate that this was not necessarily the case.²⁸⁵ The heavy armor of the hoplite, including the characteristic large, round shield, while often used in dense formations, did not necessitate either a phalanx formation or “traditional” Greek hoplite tactics in order to be effective.²⁸⁶ Nor, conversely, did a phalanx formation require traditional hoplite equipment.²⁸⁷ Indeed, it has been argued that the most basic components of hoplite equipment in Greece, the shield and spear, were not universally adopted until after the Persian Wars.²⁸⁸ The defining feature of hoplite warfare was not therefore the traditional panoply of the circular shield and spear, as this was never as universal nor as static as the literary sources and iconographic evidence suggest.²⁸⁹ Rather, it was the group ethos which united and motivated the warriors, and there is limited evidence to suggest that either Rome, or other Latin communities, engaged in warfare as such united entities during the period.²⁹⁰

Conclusions

The evidence for warfare during the late regal period (c. 570–509) therefore presents two contradictory images. On the one hand the traditional model explicitly presented by the literary sources advocated the presence of the Servian Constitution and a resultant Servian army. This system mandated the existence of community-based military forces, which were organized and recruited based on a rigid set of socio-economic and geographic divisions. However, other evidence, both indirect literary evidence and archaeological data, suggest a very different model in which Latin warfare was still dominated by elite clans and clan leaders, which included both local *reges* and other members of central Italy's mobile aristocracy. These men and their followers may have been equipped in what might be described as “hoplite fashion,” with bronze or linen cuirasses, circular shields, spears, and swords, but also javelins. But these men probably did

²⁸⁵ van Wees 1994: 50–51.

²⁸⁶ Rawlings has also noted the presence of an individual in “hoplite equipment” using a bow on a Bucchero *oinochoe* from Ischia di Castro (Rawlings 1998: 109), suggesting that hoplite equipment need not always be used in a phalanx formation.

²⁸⁷ van Wees 2004: 50–51. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 50.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: 50–51. See Rich 2007: 16–18 for application of this approach to Roman warfare.

²⁹⁰ Rawlings' attempt to combine both the phalanx and a more loose style of warfare, where he argued that the character of central Italian warfare changed dramatically depending on its scale and intensity (ranging from standard hoplite warfare when communities were involved, to small scale raiding for family sized groups), is unconvincing (see Rawlings 1998: 110–112).

not fight in a hoplite phalanx as they were raised and organized based on very different principles, most likely gentilicial in origin. Warfare, or at least offensive warfare, seems to have remained largely the preserve of the region's clans and not the region's communities.

A few scattered passages do appear in the literary sources which discuss warfare and communities, however. For instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus reported that Tarquinius Superbus made treaties with Volscian and Hernician towns (*poleis*) and the Pyrgi tablets demonstrate a certain level diplomacy between Carthage and the Etruscan polities at an early date, but these are extremely rare.²⁹¹ Moreover, despite the supposed reorganization of the Roman populace for military purposes during the reign of Servius Tullius, there is only one specific reference to warfare which mentions this community-based Roman army, namely Brutus' recruiting of an army of *iuniores* to face Tarquinius Superbus at Ardea.²⁹² Even in this case the army in question was recruited by an individual aristocrat for what amounted to a personal vendetta against the *rex*. Other than these isolated references, there is no narrative evidence referring to the late regal period of communities as cohesive units engaging in warfare. Conversely, there are numerous references which clearly indicate a markedly individualistic or gentilicial approach to warfare. These range from issues which have been discussed, such as the Roman *rex*'s evident monopoly on warfare in the community and the highly personal nature of military forces, to the myriad of references to communities made up of disparate factions in war, such as Dionysius' description of the opportunistic and highly individualistic style of warfare practiced by the Gabini.²⁹³ As a result, despite the assertions of the literary sources and the purported presence of the Servian Constitution in Rome during the second half of the sixth century, Roman and Latin warfare seemed to continue much as it had before. Latium's warlords continued their low-level raiding, while Rome continued to grant *imperium* to the *rex* through the same fragmented curiate assembly. Although it is likely that the community contributed men to the warlord's forces in times of need, most of Rome's warfare seems to have been conducted by the *rex* in a highly personal manner, with the spoils of war being largely distributed to his followers.

²⁹¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.49. The use of the word *poleis* to describe tribal communities must be viewed as highly suspect, and it is possible that Dionysius was only speculating that treaties were created between communities.

²⁹² Liv. 1.59–60. Even in this instance, the circumstances were extraordinary.

²⁹³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.54.

But it is clear that things were changing. Communities like Rome continued to grow and expand, developing key industries and increasingly becoming powers in their own right – and increasingly attractive to opportunistic *gentes*. During the course of the sixth century the previously mobile clans in Latium continued to settle down in and around various communities, and particularly Rome, forming lasting associations. This is seen first and foremost in the shift in expenditure among the elite from private burials to public architecture as a primary means of display in various communities. It is also evident in the advent of the first large aristocratic houses located on the slopes of the Palatine Hill, which date to the end of the sixth century, and the early phases of villas like the Auditorium Villa. The addition of this increasingly sedentary aristocracy, which was congregating in and around Latium's settlements, gradually put pressure on both the existing urban power structures and on the office of the *rex* as the dominant military force in Rome. While previously these groups may have been happy to move between settlements as the situation dictated, the gradual settling down by many of the clans and *gentes* seems to have resulted in increased competition and tension in local politics. This increasing tension would come to a head in Rome with the events of c. 509.

Fighting for land (509–452)

Despite the dramatic events of 510/509 and Rome's transition from a monarchy to a republic, the literary sources offer a surprisingly stable and consistent view of Roman warfare during the late sixth and early fifth centuries. After the advent of the Roman Republic, the Roman *rex* seems to have been simply replaced by the precursors to the consuls, *praetores* (leaders),¹ at the head of Rome's armed forces.² While the level of recorded warfare seems to have increased slightly in the aftermath of this change,³ Rome's late republican historians seem to have assumed that Rome's army continued to be recruited using the "Servian" system, and functioned much as they had envisioned it during the regal period: as a military expression of the state's will.⁴ It is likely that this view of Roman warfare is based, at least in part, on a flawed and anachronistic understanding of Rome's archaic military and political structure by the surviving ancient sources. As has already been argued, despite the assertions of the extant literary evidence, the Roman approach to warfare during the late regal period was markedly different from that implied by the "Servian Constitution," and indeed the Servian system may actually date to the mid or late fifth century instead (or indeed the early fourth century). As a

¹ Oakley 1998: 77–80 and, more recently, Drogula 2015: 19–20 for discussion.

² This transition is made slightly more problematic if there was a *praetor maximus* (i.e. chief praetor), although it is possible, even likely, that this title was more descriptive than prescriptive (i.e. it was used to denote when one *praetor* was more powerful politically and/or militarily) and that its presence would not have impacted the inherent collegiality of the magistracy.

³ This may have been the result of two different factors which are not mutually exclusive. First, it may represent an actual increase in warfare. This is both possible and likely given the influx of new tribes and populations into the coastal plane of Latium, and central Italy more generally, during the early years of the fifth century (see Cornell and Lomas 1995: 305 for discussion). Second, this increase in recorded warfare may simply represent an increase in the level and detail of records kept in Rome, possibly as a result of the new consular years and the possible introduction of the archaic *Annales Maximi* (see Frier 1999 for the origins of the annalistic tradition).

⁴ Momigliano has argued that the Servian reforms were allowed to lapse after his reign (Momigliano 1963: 93–121), but there is no direct evidence to support this.

result, despite the growth of communities in size, wealth, and importance during the sixth century, the vast majority of warfare continued to exist as a part of Latium's larger culture of raiding, which was dominated by mobile aristocratic warlords and their clans, and not as part of a community-oriented military agenda.⁵ The implications of Rome's transition from a monarchy to a republic for the Roman way of war must therefore be revisited and re-evaluated in the light of this evidence. The present chapter will focus on identifying trends in warfare in Rome and Latium during the period immediately following Rome's republican foundation, where it will suggest that we can identify the first steps toward a truly state-centered army in Rome.

Although they based their model of early republican warfare on a highly anachronistic understanding of Rome's military and political structure, the ancient sources were likely to have been correct in claiming that Roman warfare did exhibit a fair degree of continuity throughout the community's transition from monarchy to republic. The removal of the Roman *rex* and his replacement by a federation of local elites and their clans/followers (as expressed by Livy and Dionysius) likely did not immediately have a significant impact on Rome's approach to warfare. While Roman warfare seems to have become increasingly fragmented (at least in the short term), undoubtedly as a result of the replacement of a single warlord by a rotating group or federation of warlords, the character and aims of warfare in Rome obviously remained largely stable. In large part this was due to the Roman *rex* and his successors in Rome being part of the same regional grouping: central Italy's mobile gentilicial elite. As a result, the primary goals of the early *praetores* likely mirrored those of the *reges*, although they obviously had much less time in office to accomplish them.⁶ Nevertheless, despite this short-term continuity, the transition from monarchy to republic did have long-term implications. Perhaps most importantly, the early years of the Republic saw the emergence of the community as not only a focal point for aristocratic unity, but also as an increasingly vocal and powerful entity in its own right. These developments ultimately led to the beginnings of a unified military force which combined both the urban and gentilicial elements of Roman society, albeit initially on a very limited basis. Additionally, the shifting character of the central Italian economy coupled with the increasingly settled nature of the region's *gentes*

⁵ See [Chapter 3](#).

⁶ Drogula has argued that the limits on the *imperium* of the early *praetores* may not have been as strict as in later periods, most notably with regard to the single year in office (Drogula 2015: 102–103).

particularly around Rome, led to a gradual change in the goals of Roman warfare, where increased importance was accorded to land-based conquest.

The fall of Roman *rex* and the rise of Rome's aristocratic Republic

The events surrounding the fall of the Roman monarchy and the origins of the Republic formed a crucial part of Rome's formative myth cycle during the late Republic, and presumably from a much earlier date.⁷ While Ogilvie argued that the basic tenets of the narrative were too well established in Roman tradition to be discounted, many modern scholars have increasingly accepted that much of the story's detail likely represents highly anachronistic fabrication based on a wide range of sources, and drawing from both Greek parallels and Augustan agendas.⁸ Indeed, Rome's late republican writers typically framed the narrative in terms of a heroic uprising against a tyrant, although the reality of events was probably not quite so noble.⁹ For instance, the motivation for the revolt against Tarquinius Superbus is typically given as outrage caused by the rape of Lucretia,¹⁰ but even Livy's narrative implied that this was only the catalyst which allowed the ambition of nobles like Brutus to come to fruition.¹¹

Making allowance, as much as possible, for the rhetoric which surrounds the origins of the Republic, the quantitative differences between Rome's monarchy and her early republican system were largely limited to the restructuring of the social order amongst the gentilicial elite associated with Rome, which by this point can arguably be considered the "proto-patricians." There was, however, likely very little direct impact on the structure and organization of the community more generally. The many duties of the solitary *rex* were evidently divided up between the *praetores*, the *pontifex maximus*, the *rex sacrorum*, and other officials, priests, and magistrates, but the basic powers themselves seem to have remained intact.¹² Indeed, the early *praetores* were still evidently granted or confirmed in their *imperium* via the *comitia curiata* and a *lex curiata*, indicating that

⁷ Ogilvie 1965: 218–220.

⁸ *Ibid.*: 219; see Wiseman 1998 for discussion of the contrary position.

⁹ Wiseman 2004: 132–134.

¹⁰ Liv. 1.57–59.

¹¹ Most notably, Brutus and the other Roman aristocrats were apparently already discussing the removal of Tarquin prior to the rape of Lucretia (see, for instance, Liv. 1.56). Although it is likely that much, if not all, of this foreshadowing represented anachronistic embellishment, particularly as the most obvious instance of it, Brutus' mission to Delphi, is very likely a fabrication, or at the very least a highly mythologized account (see Wiseman 2004: 54, 65 for discussion of the myth).

¹² Livy noted that "all the rights of the *reges* and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls" (Liv. 2.1, trans. Foster). See Henderson 1957 for discussion. See also Brennan's discussion of the

the relationship between Rome's new republican regime and the urban population, embodied by the *curiae*, remained largely unchanged from that which had existed previously between the *rex* and this body.

One of the primary differences between the archaic *rex* and Rome's new republican structure was that the chief magistrates, the *praetores*, were regularly (likely annually, although this is uncertain) elected and did not serve for life. This has often been taken to represent the advent of a more democratic approach to governance in Rome, and there may be some truth in this as the community, by means of the *comitia curiata*, regularly asserted itself through both the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio* and possibly the election of the magistrates themselves, although this duty was soon shifted to the *comitia centuriata*.¹³ However, the nature of this early selection is ambiguous, particularly given the problematic nature of the city's early assemblies. The literary sources state that the *praetores*, or consuls as they are anachronistically called, were elected in the *comitia centuriata*, as in later times – indeed, Livy dubbed the assembly the *comitia consularia*.¹⁴ However, as argued previously, it is highly unlikely that the Servian Constitution, and therefore the centuriate assembly, existed in anything resembling this form during the regal period. Given the continued importance of the *comitia curiata* in this period, the absence of any specific recorded actions for the *comitia centuriata* apart from the “election” of the first *praetores*/consuls (itself a troublesome episode given both the unusual situation and the number of men who supposedly held the office in 509), and the myriad logic-based arguments against it, the suggested election of early *praetores* in the *comitia centuriata* seems somewhat doubtful.

Despite not necessarily being involved in the formal election of the early *praetores*, the period around 509 does represent a plausible point of origin for the *comitia centuriata* – or at least some of the principles behind it. Although the prescriptive, timocratic divisions of the assembly were likely developments of the late fifth and fourth centuries,¹⁵ the nature of the early centuriate assembly, which was likely composed of only the top class(es) of the traditional Servian Constitution,¹⁶ does seem to correspond to Rome's

powers and duties of the early *praetores* (Brennan 2000: 3–11, 34–57) and Stewart's analysis of public office in early Rome (Stewart 1998).

¹³ Livy stated that the first consuls were elected by the *comitia centuriata* (Liv. 1.60), although this is likely to represent an anachronistic extrapolation based on later practice.

¹⁴ Liv. 7.1; 10.11.

¹⁵ The use of timocratic divisions is likely to have coincided with the introduction of the *censores* in the 440s and, it will be argued, was likely the result of the inclusion of a new group, the plebeians, into the Roman state and army. See Chapter 5.

¹⁶ Momigliano 1966: 596; Cornell 1995b: 185.

emerging urban gentry, at least in part, which seems to have formed a key element in Rome's emerging Republic. Able to equip themselves with military equipment and in control of increasingly significant amounts of wealth coming from Rome's burgeoning agricultural, industrial, and mercantile activities, this group formed the most important part of the urban community as they represented a significant economic power in their own right, although their lack of strong clan structures meant they were likely too small and their power too diffuse to rival the major *gentes* for power. They were, however, an important source of *clientes* and followers for the region's gentilicial elite. As Momigliano noted,

everything we know for certain about archaic Rome and other archaic societies in Italy tends to show that clients provided an armed following for their patrons . . . [and so] we should not visualize the clients of archaic Rome as an urban clientele coming together each morning to greet their master and receive handouts . . . [If] the archaic client was obliged to ransom his patron if they were taken prisoner and was also expected to contribute to the dowry of the patron's daughter . . . the clients must have represented a relatively prosperous group, and must at least have possessed the means to obtain the costly heavy armor that was required for service in the legion.¹⁷

The early, or proto-, centuriate assembly may have therefore corresponded to the *populus* in this period, as it did in later periods, although both membership and the power they wielded were likely unofficial at this point.

When it comes to true power in the early Republic, the senate seems to have been dominant. As was already suggested, this group, like the *populus*, was likely a fluid and perhaps informal group which roughly corresponded to the gentilicial elites which had deposed the final *rex*. As the literature suggests, an incarnation of this group had wielded a considerable amount of power in Rome for some time, although larger regional changes meant that the group had grown in both numbers and power during the course of the sixth century – eventually reaching a tipping point *c.* 510, where a single family could no longer dominate for an entire generation and a power-sharing arrangement was required. Based in and around the city, this gentilicial elite would have undoubtedly attempted to insert itself into the local political picture any way it could. Monopolizing the selection and position of *praetor* represented the most obvious method, but it is also likely that they attempted to control the city's assemblies, as seen in the evident control of the office of the office of *curio maximus* and likely that of

¹⁷ Momigliano 2005: 175–176.

the *curione* and various tribunician positions – although probably not the later tribunes of plebs.¹⁸ Possibly continuing the system which existed for the selection of the *rex* through the *interreges* and the *interregnum*,¹⁹ the elite clans likely negotiated among themselves who would occupy the positions of Rome's early *praetores* – and indeed, the continued existence of both the *interregnum* and *interreges* in the republican period hints at a certain level of continuity in practice.²⁰ These selections, which in many ways were likely a simple acknowledgement of the current balance of power among the *gentes* with the city, would then be confirmed and given *imperium* by the community to carry out the same duties as the *rex* in that sphere. It is also worth noting that it is entirely possible that the actual selection of the *praetores* may have occurred via much more unofficial channels at this point, and the selection of magistrates may not have been limited to only two – which may explain the problematic *fasti* entries and numerous *consules suffecti* in this period.²¹ Indeed, the “election” of the city's first *praetores*, L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus, is highly problematic as they were arguably the *de facto* leaders after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus and did not seem to have their power confirmed by the *curiae*.

Ultimately then, the significance of the change which occurred in 509 depended quite a bit on which group one was a part of. From the point of view of the gentilicial aristocracy, the change was immense. Instead of Rome being controlled by a single family and individual for a generation, the city was now headed by a coalition of elite clans, likely represented by the archaic senate, who supplied a series of temporary leaders in a federated, power-sharing arrangement.²² This “opening up” of power in Rome

¹⁸ Palmer 1970: 274–275. ¹⁹ Liv. 1.17; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.57; Plut. *Numa* 2.

²⁰ In the republican period, the office of the *interrex* was traditionally only utilized when new consuls were unable to be elected due to civil disturbances or other issues in the preceding year (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.90; Liv. 4.43); however, it is likely that the institutions underwent changes during the course of the early Republic – most notably in 482, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.90 – making its early republican character almost impossible to determine.

²¹ See Holloway 2009 for the more flexible nature of the term/office of *praetor* in this period. See also Drogula 2015: 19–20.

²² The nature of the archaic senate, as presented by Livy (Liv. 1.8) and Cicero (Cic. *Rep.* 2.23) among others, indicated that it was always intertwined with Rome's patrician aristocracy (See Mommsen 1887–1888 I: 129–284; III: 89–142, 835–841, and more recently Smith 2006: 252–280). The archaic senate was likely initially based on the members of Latium's mobile aristocracy which settled in and around Rome, with the *patres* representing the heads of the archaic *gentes*. The senate in the early Republic was therefore arguably differentiated from the *patricii* more generally, as the *patricii* (as it emerged in the fifth century) would have included a wide range of figures/groups, including relative newcomers. The institution of *maiores gentes* and *minores gentes* is likely to have emerged as a result of these types of internal distinctions. Following Cornell (Cornell 1995b: 245–251), it may have

meant that the clans, who were increasingly making the city and its hinterlands their permanent home, now had access to and a chance at power within the community – although how attractive that was for the various *gentes* likely depended on their individual situation. However, from the view of the urban population in Rome, the situation may not have changed substantially. Although the *rex* had been replaced by a federation of clan-based leaders, this group of gentilicial elites wielded the same type of power as the *rex* and interacted with the community along the same lines, with the community granting power (*imperium*) to the clan leaders through the curiate assembly. Despite their new position, Rome's new federation of aristocratic leaders behaved in a roughly similar fashion as before, raiding and conducting independent military actions, but with an increasing focus on Rome and the nascent *ager Romanus* as their permanent base of operations.²³

This is not to say, however, that greater changes were not to come as a result of the shift to a republic. The annual granting of *imperium*, which also represented the annual confirmation of the community's position as the source of that power, may have gradually had an effect on the tenor of Roman politics and the role of the community within it. The regular assertion of power by the community, through the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio* (if not the election of the *praetores* themselves), would surely have had an impact on the relationship between the clans and the community. Additionally, while previously the *rex* and his clan had an entire lifetime to establish a relationship with the community, the new elite power-sharing arrangement which the Republic embodied meant that the gentilicial elite depended quite heavily on the community as the principal mechanism and stable aspect of this political competition. As a result, just as the community was also becoming a key player in the elite competition with regard to public display via architecture and public building, the advent of the Republic also made it a vital player in clan-based social and political interactions. And finally, the community's ever increasing size and wealth in the late sixth and early fifth centuries also

therefore have been possible, given the transient nature of Rome's patrician aristocracy, that the early senate was a relatively *ad hoc* council of gentilicial leaders in Rome, which voted on various matters and became the core of the early Republic, but which was not formalized in a legal sense (membership may have been unofficially formalized by the "closing of the patriciate" in the fifth century) until membership began to be subject to the census in the third quarter of the fourth century (cf. Festus 290L). See Smith 2006: 251–280 for a detailed discussion.

²³ This is suggested by the names of Rome's early rural tribes, which were likely created during this period (at least on a descriptive basis), most of which bear the names of Roman *gentes*. See Taylor 1960 for discussion.

would have likely played a role in the regional power balance, as although the extramural clans seem to have dominated much of the warfare, the urban centers were developing in terms of economic and industrial power.

The continued power of the archaic warband

Although the importance of Tarquinius Superbus' removal in 510/509 should not be minimalized, as was already argued, many aspects of Roman society, and even of Roman politics, carried on into the early Republic in much the same way as before. Most notably, the dualist nature of early Roman society was still clearly evident in the early Republic, with the urban population still seemingly existing as a largely separate entity from Rome's increasingly sedentary gentilicial elite and clans. Although there is a range of evidence pointing to this, including the nature and structure of Rome's tribes (which may date to this period or indeed slightly later) along with various features of Roman law, this phenomenon is perhaps best illustrated by the early "Struggle of the Orders" and the creation, or evolution, of a so-called plebeian alternative state – a development which will be discussed at length later in this chapter.²⁴ To draw out a few salient points here, however, the clear dichotomy in Roman society and politics which the patrician/plebeian divide indicates, whether it was a new creation in the 490s (as is often argued) or the evolution of a long-standing division which had taken on new meaning (as suggested here), is impossible to ignore and indeed forms the backdrop for every major event of the period in the literary tradition. The tension between these groups, although often misunderstood and misinterpreted by Rome's later historians, seems to represent one of the major driving forces in Roman society which came to a head, most often, in military matters. Things were changing in Rome, as the regular progression of the Struggle of the Orders seems to indicate, and the sphere of warfare is where at least the most obvious impetus for this change seems to have originated.

Despite the changes at the top of Rome's military leadership, one of the more interesting areas of continuity in Roman warfare was the continued existence of independent, mobile, aristocratic warbands in the region, which still played a prominent (and arguably dominant) role in both Roman and Latin warfare. Part of the central Italian gentilicial elite, like Rome's *reges* and the figures of Caelus Vibenna and Macstarna before them, clan leaders and their followers were still able to move from community to

²⁴ See Cornell 1983.

community, seemingly regardless of previously existing tribal or settlement affiliations.²⁵ Although none of these leaders enjoyed either the range of power or political longevity which Rome's *reges* seem to have enjoyed, they did seem to represent an extension, or evolution, of that group. The presence of these mobile gentilicial warbands can be detected in both the archaeology and literary evidence in a wide variety of guises. These include both exiled elites who evidently retained a large amount of military power even after their departure from their "home" communities, powerful sedentary elites who were feared for their potential military might, and local *gentes*, like the Fabii, who took on military campaigns without the assistance of the community as a whole. Additionally, the characteristic style of warfare practiced by these warbands and their leaders during the regal period, consisting primarily of low-level raiding, also continued to play an important role in the early fifth century, despite Rome's supposed shift toward more community-centered goals.²⁶

Mobile warlords

The literary evidence for the continued presence of this mobile gentilicial elite is strongest for the final years of the sixth century and the early years of fifth century, although it is contiguous throughout the period in question. Beginning in 508, only two years after Rome had deposed Tarquinius Superbus, the city again came under the influence of a powerful, mobile warlord: Lars Porsenna of Clusium.²⁷ Like Rome's previous rulers, Porsenna was a foreign leader,²⁸ and while it is unlikely that Porsenna ever ruled Rome as a "*rex*," acquiring the requisite authority from the community, the narrative evidence hints that he was able to dominate the city and claim a degree of leadership over Rome and her foreign policy.²⁹ The length of Porsenna's domination of Rome has been hotly debated, with some, including Alföldi and Howarth, arguing that Porsenna was still

²⁵ See [Chapter 4](#) for relevant examples. This may hint at the anachronistic nature of employing these types of designations, so common in later periods, to the late sixth and early fifth centuries.

²⁶ See particularly Dionysius' version of Brutus' speech against tyrants in 509 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.10).

²⁷ See Liv. 2.9–15 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.22–35 for the ancient narratives. See Ogilvie 1965: 255–271 for discussion.

²⁸ Clusium, Porsenna's recorded place of origin, was over 100 km from Rome (Howarth 1997: 69).

²⁹ While it is uncertain whether Porsenna ever actually took Rome, he did evidently occupy the Janiculan hill (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.22; Liv. 2.9; Florus 1.10), and was able to demand hostages and, most importantly, mandate Rome's future military assistance (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.65; Liv. 2.13). In addition, Porsenna required that land be given back to Veii (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.32; Plut. *Pub* 18).

in at least nominal control of Rome until the battle of Lake Regillus in 496.³⁰ However, even if Alföldi and Howarth were correct in attributing this twelve-year rule to Porsenna, twelve years would represent only a fraction of the time spans associated with previous rulers.³¹ Additionally, unlike Rome's *reges*, Porsenna did not remain in Rome after 508, but rather exerted his influence from afar, representing a very different type of "rule" from the Roman *rex*, and the *fasti* (if it is to be believed at all for this period) suggests that *praetores* continued to be selected within the city.³²

The activity of Tarquinius Superbus, which forms a sideline to the main Porsenna narrative in the literary sources,³³ may also illustrate the continued presence of a mobile gentilicial elite in and around Rome. After being forced out of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus supposedly traveled to Gabii and then Tarquinia, from where he sent emissaries to Rome to ask for the return of his property.³⁴ After this request was denied, Tarquinius traveled to Veii to gather military support, and then led a force against Rome.³⁵ After the defeat of Tarquinius and his allies by the Romans in 509, both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus claim that he attempted to enlist the help of Porsenna in Clusium.³⁶ Following Porsenna's victory over Rome, and with no help forthcoming from Rome's newest warlord, Tarquinius Superbus eventually retired to Tusculum, the home of his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavius.³⁷ While this movement around central Italy and the association of Tarquinius Superbus with a variety of Rome's early enemies, including both Veii and Porsenna, may be a rhetorical device to provide motivation for Rome's various military actions, the sheer number of places which Tarquinius supposedly visited in such a short time is notable, as is his continued authority in each location.³⁸ During the course of one year, Tarquinius is recorded as visiting Gabii, Tarquinii, Veii, Rome, Clusium, and Tusculum³⁹. While one or two associations might be ignored, the number of sites visited suggests that clan leaders like Tarquinius Superbus were thought to have retained a high level of mobility at the turn of the

³⁰ Alföldi 1965: 72–84; Howarth 1997: 71.

³¹ Although it should be noted that the reigns of Rome's kings are problematic in that they were extremely long, and all except those of Rome's final three monarchs are commonly seen to be largely annalistic inventions. See Cornell 1995b: 119–150.

³² The sources are unanimous in claiming that Porsenna left Rome in 508 (Liv. 2.14, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.34–35), with Livy claiming that he went on to attack the settlement of Aricia.

³³ See particularly Liv. 2.9–15 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.21–39.

³⁴ Liv. 2.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.3. ³⁵ Liv. 2.6–7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.16.

³⁶ Liv. 2.9–15; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.22–35. ³⁷ Liv. 2.15.

³⁸ See Ogilvie 1965: 286–287 for literary motifs in the later episodes of Tarquinius Superbus.

³⁹ Liv. 2.1–15.

fifth century. Indeed, far from being an isolated incident, the motif of powerful figures being exiled from one community and traveling to another is very common in the literary evidence for the early Republic.⁴⁰

The story of Coriolanus is yet another illustration of this type of mobile, warlike clan leader being active during the period.⁴¹ Similar in many ways to the narratives of both Tarquinius Superbus at Rome and his son, Sextus Tarquinius, who was “exiled” and settled at Gabii during the regal period,⁴² Coriolanus was “exiled” from Rome and eventually found solace with the Volsci.⁴³ Quickly becoming a prominent figure within the tribe, Coriolanus turned his sights back on Rome and led an attack on the city, which, according to the literary evidence, was preempted by the intervention of his mother on the city’s behalf. While the details of this anecdote are problematic to say the least, the basic premise behind the story is remarkably familiar, with a powerful member of the elite leaving his home, integrating with another community or group in the region, quickly gaining power (likely based on a substantial following or wealth), and subsequently conducting military actions.⁴⁴ The dictator Cincinnatus’ son, Caeso Quinctus, was yet another Roman elite of the early fifth century who was exiled from Rome and went to live in Etruria.⁴⁵

One of the most famous figures from the early Republic, Attus Clausius, also points toward this type of activity. Attus Clausius, later known as Appius Claudius,⁴⁶ arrived in Rome with a band of followers in the final years of the sixth century after being forced out of his home community, the Sabine settlement of Regillum.⁴⁷ After his arrival in Rome, the familiar narrative sequence was repeated, with the clan leader,

⁴⁰ This practice is evident throughout the ancient world, with some of the most obvious examples being from archaic and classical Greece.

⁴¹ Indeed, Wiseman noted that Coriolanus “was probably an old-style warlord who owed no particular loyalty to a city-state” (Wiseman 2004: 72).

⁴² Liv. 1.53.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 2.35. It should be noted that the use of the “exile” motif in the narrative of the early Republic may be slightly misleading. Rome’s historians assumed that Roman citizenship had remained largely static since the foundation of the city, and it would have therefore been unthinkable for a public figure like Coriolanus to leave the city and subsequently attack it unless he had been exiled. However, given the highly fluid nature of community affiliation in Latium during the sixth and fifth centuries, this type of activity would have been possible without exile. As a result, “exile” may simply represent a motif used by Rome’s historians to explain the mobility of aristocrats during the fifth century.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Sextus Tarquinius (see Chapter 3). ⁴⁵ Liv. 3.14.

⁴⁶ Festus (12–13 (M)) offers some unhelpful etymology for this name change.

⁴⁷ Liv. 2.16; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.40. Suetonius mentioned another tradition, which said that the family arrived in Rome with Titus Tatius the Sabine soon after the founding of the city (Suet. *Tib.* 1); however, he indicated that the standard version, in which the family arrived with Appius Claudius, was considered as being more reliable.

having been forced out his previous community, quickly integrating with the new community, and immediately becoming a prominent individual, likely based on his evident military might.⁴⁸ Torelli has argued that the Claudii were also not the only *gens* to arrive during this period, as he has postulated that the Veturii may have come to Rome from the community of Praeneste in 499.⁴⁹

The figures of L. Collatinus and Publicola, both collaborators with Brutus in deposing Tarquinius Superbus, may represent still further examples of this powerful, mobile aristocracy. Collatinus was a powerful clan leader in Rome who was forced to retire to Lavinium during the early years of the Republic after being associated with Tarquinius Superbus.⁵⁰ Although Collatinus' military power was not mentioned, his mobility, albeit forced, is clearly evident. Publicola represented the reverse of this model. Although there is no concrete evidence that he ever left Rome (although the *Lapis Satricanus* inscription, discussed later, has been interpreted as relating to him and would therefore point to his presence and influence in Satricum), his personal military power within the community of Rome was clearly indicated by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the source of tension early in his political career.⁵¹ While the community's fear of Publicola seems to have been unfounded, the possibility of Roman clan leaders using military power to control the city may have represented a real threat, as the case of Appius Herdonius indicates. Along with several thousand followers, Appius Herdonius captured the Capitoline hill in 460 as part of an attempt to dominate the city.⁵² While much has been made of his Sabine ancestry, particularly by the ancient authors, and his army is described as being made up of slaves and rebels, it is evident that he was an influential Roman elite and his army was not described as an external or invading army.⁵³

The continued power of gentilicial warbands was not limited to Rome in this period either. Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the Etruscan army which faced the Romans in 460 hints at the existence of forces based on gentilicial lines in Etruria. Dionysius noted that the Etruscan army was very large because "the most influential men from all

⁴⁸ Dionysius noted that he brought "with him many kinsmen and friends and a great number of clients, who removed with their whole households, not less than five hundred in all who were able to bear arms" (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.40, trans. Cary).

⁴⁹ Torelli 1987: 131. ⁵⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.11–12. ⁵¹ Liv. 2.4.

⁵² Dionysius stated that Appius Herdonius had 4,000 followers (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.14–17) while Livy recorded 2,500 (Liv. 3.15–18). See Cornell 1995b: 145 for discussion.

⁵³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.14.

Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents.”⁵⁴ The evidence for the continued existence of mobile clans is also present outside of the accounts involving major historical figures. While it is uncertain when they emigrated, Ampolo, among others, has drawn attention to men listed among the early consuls of Rome who bore Etruscan names.⁵⁵ In particular, Post. Cominius Auruncus (cos. 501), Appius Claudius Sabinus (cos. 495), and T. Sicinius Sabinus and C. Aquillius Tuscus (both cos. 487) have been identified as Italian elites, hinting that the concept of “Roman” was still relatively fuzzy in this early period, at least among the aristocracy.⁵⁶

Raiding

Significant changes began to appear in the economy of Latium during the late sixth century, which had a gradual but profound influence on the nature and goals of warfare during the early fifth century. However, at the start of the century the literary evidence clearly indicates that raiding for portable wealth remained the primary impetus behind warfare, particularly among clans and tribal peoples. For example, the Sabines were described as having raided Roman territory during the early fifth century,⁵⁷ as were the Aequi.⁵⁸ Livy implied that the Veientes were particularly fond of raiding, noting in the entry for 479 that “thenceforward there was neither peace nor war with the Veientes, but something like freebooting . . . they would make raids upon the fields.”⁵⁹ The narrative evidence also indicated that the Romans were also not averse to pillaging enemy land, as illustrated by Caseo Fabius’s raid into Aequian land in 479 and the activity of the Fabii from their reported base near the Cremera River in 477.⁶⁰ Even Cornell, who argued for the very early formation of a state-centered Roman army, conceded that the warfare in central Italy during the fifth century was essentially brigandage; a point borne out by the provisions of the *foedus Cassianum* of 493, which underlined the importance of booty and portable wealth in warfare.⁶¹

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 9.5. ⁵⁵ Ampolo 1981.

⁵⁶ Bradley 2006: 180. It should be noted that this would apply only if these figures were recent immigrants. It is entirely possible that these figures could also represent the sons, or grandsons, of previous immigrants (or the result of earlier intermarriages), because the absence of their names in the earlier epigraphic record is not conclusive evidence against their families living in Rome.

⁵⁷ Liv. 2.26. ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 2.30; 2.43; 2.48, etc. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 2.48. See also *ibid.* 2.43. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 2.48–50.

⁶¹ Cornell 1995b: 309. Cornell’s assertion that Roman warfare (against Veii in particular) was a series of “organized conflicts between developed states . . . [and that] the two sides had long-term objectives that went beyond the mere acquisition of booty” (*ibid.*: 310) is unconvincing. The crux of Cornell’s argument was based on the control of long-distance trade routes which, as noted elsewhere in this chapter, were entering a period of decline by the fifth century.

The archaeological record for the late sixth and early fifth centuries in Rome and Latium is unfortunately sparse, and so physical evidence supporting a strong raiding culture during this period is limited. However, the few finds which do date to this period seem to generally support the continuation of previously existing practices among the gentilicial elite. The most direct piece of evidence is arguably the *Lapis Satricanus*. Discovered in 1977, this inscription, dating to c. 500, recorded a dedication to Mars (*mamars*) by the *suodales* (*sodales*) of a Poplios Valesios.⁶² It has been suggested that the latter may be identified with Publius Valerius Publicola, the prominent Roman leader.⁶³ The use of the word *sodalis* in this inscription is most significant. It is clear that *sodales* represented a significant relationship within Roman republican society, although its exact meaning is still ambiguous. The word has traditionally been taken to mean “clients” or “companions,” depending on its context,⁶⁴ but it is likely that in the early Republic this word referred to the “swordmates” or warrior-followers of aristocratic warlords, which are evidenced in the stories of Macstarna and the Vibenna brothers, and in the archaeological evidence for the early sixth century.

Plautus, writing in the late third and early second centuries, often used the word *sodalis* in his comedies to refer to a close friend or companion.⁶⁵ However, he clearly distinguished the word *sodalis* from both *amicus* and *vicine*, the two other words he often used to describe “friends.”⁶⁶ While it seems that these categories were not mutually exclusive (that is to say characters referred to as *sodales* could also be *amici* and *vicini*), *sodales* were required to have certain characteristics. Most notably, a *sodalis* was always a male friend, a point reinforced by the word’s association with various fraternal organizations.⁶⁷ Additionally, Plautus referred to both young (*adolescentes*) and old (*seneces*) *sodales*, indicating that there was not a required age for this relationship. However, Plautus did not tend to mix ages within the relationship. So while both young men and old could be a *sodalis*, the sodale relationship typically involved men of similar age.⁶⁸

Virgil’s use of the word *sodalis* in the *Aeneid* provides further evidence of the word’s meaning. James, in her study of the word *condere* in Virgil, found

⁶² The text reads: . . . *iei steterai poplioso valesiosio suodales mamartei*. This was interpreted by Cornell to read “. . . the companions of Poplios Valesios set up to this Mamars,” where Mamars may represent an archaic name for Mars (Cornell 1995b: 428). Prosdocimi suggested that *Mamars* could refer to Mater Matuta, as there was a large temple complex dedicated to Mater Matuta located in the settlement of Satricum (Prosdocimi 1994: 366–377).

⁶³ Cornell 1995b: 144. ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 133, 144.

⁶⁵ Plaut. *Merc.* 475; 611–612; 620 *Epid.* 344; *Capt.* 646; *Mos.* 310; *Bacc.* 60; etc. ⁶⁶ Maurice 2003.

⁶⁷ OLD *s.v.* *sodalis*. ⁶⁸ Maurice 2003: 164–165.

that while it was typically used to describe peaceful activities, on rare occasions it was also used to denote an act of violence, typically the plunging of a sword into a victim.⁶⁹ However, *condere* was only used in this violent manner within a particular context, where two men, bound by a strong social bond, were fighting alongside one another.⁷⁰ The relationships which allowed this use of *condere* were between lovers, the father-son relationship, and the relationship between *sodales*. Livy used the word *sodales* on several occasions in his history of the early Republic, and in every case it carried the meaning of “warrior-follower.” He used the term when discussing the followers of Tarquinius Superbus in Rome,⁷¹ again when discussing the followers of the Fabian *gens* who went along on their war against Veii in 479,⁷² and finally when discussing Caeso Fabius’ followers following the aristocrat’s exile in 461.⁷³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus provided still further corroboration for this interpretation of *sodales* as he translated the word as *hetairoi*, a title synonymous with Alexander the Great’s companions and Companion Cavalry,⁷⁴ in his description of the Fabii in 479.⁷⁵

Sodalis also often had religious connotations, as the term was often applied to priesthoods.⁷⁶ Many of these priesthoods were clearly archaic in origin, most notably the Arval Brethren, the *Salii*, and the *Luperci*. However, the term *sodales* was revived during the Augustan period with the creation of the *sodales Augustales*.⁷⁷ While the duties of these various priesthoods varied, they were all male and often restricted to the social elite, particularly within the *sodales* which had evident archaic origins.⁷⁸ One of the most famous *sodalitates*, the *sodales Salii*, maintained the military connotations of the term which were referenced in Vergil. These figures wore archaic Italian armor, were the keepers of the twelve sacred *ancilia*, and held ritual processions through Rome.⁷⁹ This religious aspect

⁶⁹ James 1995. ⁷⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 9.348; 9.443; 10.387; 10.816; 12.950.

⁷¹ Liv. 2.3. ⁷² *Ibid.* 2.49. ⁷³ *Ibid.* 3.14.

⁷⁴ The term was used of the companions of the Macedonian king, his noble cavalry (*hetairike hippos*) and the infantry formations forming the backbone of the army (*pezetairioi*). Most specifically it could be used of the king’s inner circle of friends.

⁷⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.14. ⁷⁶ Scullard 1981: 30.

⁷⁷ Liebeschuetz 1989: 62–64. Augustus, in addition to reviving the word *sodales* for the creation of the *sodales Augustales*, also may have revived some pre-existing *sodales* including the *Sodales Titi* (*ibid.*: 53–56). It is notable that when revived it maintained the connotation of the members being the followers of one figure which is seen in the Lapis Satricanus. This use of *sodales* was mirrored by later emperors, including Hadrian, when he created his own priesthoods which bore the epithet.

⁷⁸ This social exclusivity became problematic during the Augustan period. While many of the archaic *sodales*, including the *Salii*, were restricted to the patricians into the Empire, the *Luperci* were reserved for the *equites* by the Augustan period and the membership of the *Augustales* was made up principally of freedmen (see *ibid.*: 64).

⁷⁹ See Beard, North, and Price 1998: 126–128 for a brief overview of the *Salii*.

of the *sodales* also harkens back to the context of the *Lapis Satricanus*. Torelli argued that *suodalitas* was an archaic social institution, possibly cemented by a special religious connection, which may have been similar to the aristocratic Germanic companies described by Tacitus in the *Germania*.⁸⁰

One can therefore interpret *sodales*, in its early republican context, to mean a specific social relationship between men of similar social status. While the relationship did imply a certain degree of equality, with men often being of similar age, *sodales* did have a recognizable hierarchy, often with a discernable leader at the top.⁸¹ *Sodales* also had a clearly recognized religious aspect. Additionally, while the term did not necessarily refer to a martial relationship, it contained a recognizably violent aspect. Consequently, the inscription from the *Lapis Satricanus* indicated the presence of a group during the early Republic which is consistent with the *condottieri* of the regal period. Indeed, this interpretation of the term is supported by Emperor Claudius' identification of the figure of Macstarna as the *sodalis* of Caeles Vibenna.⁸²

Apart from the *Lapis Satricanus*, there is also a range of indirect archaeological evidence which demonstrates the continued presence of aristocratic warbands in the early fifth century. While the late sixth and early fifth centuries did witness a marked decline in grave goods deposited in Latium, a complete warrior's panoply, including a bronze cuirass and helmet, has been recovered from a burial at Lanuvium which dates to the period (see Fig. 1.1).⁸³ This deposit, which is similar to others in central Italy dating to earlier periods,⁸⁴ hints at the continued use of military equipment as part of aristocratic identification in Latium.⁸⁵ Additionally, the design of Latin fortifications remained largely static during the fifth century. For instance, the fortifications at Antium, which have been dated to the fifth century,⁸⁶ are of the same *agger* and *fossa* type as those at Ardea, which date to the sixth century, and are of roughly similar size and scale.⁸⁷ Designed to reinforce the existing defensive capabilities of the site, but not suited to protect against a prolonged assault, the fortifications of Antium suggest a continued emphasis on protection against low-level raiding during this period.

⁸⁰ Torelli 1999: 17, although this may be pushing the relationship a bit too far.

⁸¹ In the case of the *Lapis Satricanus*, the leader was Poplios Valesios, while in the case of the *sodales* created under the empire, the figure of the emperor. Also, within the priesthoods which bore the epithet *sodales*, there was always a leader.

⁸² The "Table of Lyons," *ILS* 212.I.8–27; Smallwood 1967: no. 369. ⁸³ *GRT*: 266–267.

⁸⁴ See Stary 1981: Beilage 1–9 for relevant examples.

⁸⁵ D'Agostino, in his study of military organization and social structure in Etruria, noted the importance of military equipment as symbols of wealth and status (D'Agostino 1990: 72–82).

⁸⁶ Gjerstad 1966: 497. ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 497–499.

Although by no means conclusive then, there is nothing in the archaeology suggesting a major shift in practice at this time and some interesting elements which seem to suggest continuity. But change was coming. The vast majority of these changes will be discussed in depth in the [next chapter](#), but the general decline in mortuary deposits during this period may be linked to both a changing elite identity and a shift in economic focus with an increased investment in land and more permanent structures – aspects hinted at with the initial construction of the Palatine houses and villas near Rome discussed previously. However, this shifting mindset and focus seems to have been introduced slowly, and elite behavior in the first quarter of the fifth century largely continued as it had before.

The Fabii

It would be impossible to discuss the continued importance of gentilicial warbands in the early fifth century BC and not mention the so-called private war between the Fabii and the Etruscan city of Veii in the early 470s, which is one of the best-known examples of this activity during the period.⁸⁸ In 479, with Rome facing threats from multiple opponents, including the Volsci, the Aequi, the Sabines, and the Etruscans, the consul (or *praetor*) Caeso Fabius offered, on behalf his *gens*, to lead a private war against the Etruscan city of Veii.⁸⁹ The offer was accepted by the senate and the war continued until 477 when the Fabii were all but wiped out by the Etruscans in a battle near the Cremera River. While a consensus may never be reached on the details of the story,⁹⁰ the historicity of the event itself has never been called into question as it formed an important part of Roman myth and religion from a very early date.⁹¹ The narrative clearly supported

⁸⁸ For a recent and detailed historiographical discussion, see Richardson 2012.

⁸⁹ Liv. 2.48; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 9.15.

⁹⁰ It is generally accepted that the story had been adapted over the years, although the exact nature of the adaptation is still debated. Pais and Bayet argued that it is “à une réalité historique (celle des luttes soutenues par une gens des confins) s’est mêlé le souvenir des trois cent Spartiates aux Thermopyles” (Pais and Bayet 1940: 98), an argument which was later taken up by Ogilvie and more recently Forsythe (Ogilvie 1965: 360; Forsythe 2005: 196–197). This hypothesis, based largely on the numbers involved (roughly 300 men dying c. 480), was not universally accepted. Holleman presented alternate possibilities for the origin of number 306 based on native Roman traditions. This argument in particular was based on the association between the destruction of the Fabii at the Cremera River and the Lupercalia with the number 306 being derived from an amalgamation between a ritual calendar and a teleological myth associated with the Roman religious calendar (Holleman 1976: 215).

⁹¹ Holleman 1976: 210–218. The importance of this event is not surprising, given the evident power of the Fabii in early republican Rome, evidenced by their virtual monopoly of the consulship/praetorship in the 480s (see *MRR*: 1–25).

the continued ability of aristocrats, in this case Caeso Fabius, to mobilize military forces and conduct military operations against major opponents like Veii during the early fifth century.

The private war between the Fabii and Veii also hints at the nature of the Roman constitution during the early fifth century. The actions of Caeso Fabius and the Fabii have caused problems for generations of Roman scholars as they seem to have flown in the face of the “traditional model” and how the Roman state was thought to have conducted warfare during the period.⁹² Since the Servian reforms of the late regal period, Rome’s political and military systems were supposed to have been intertwined, with Rome’s main voting body also forming its active army. However, while the actions of the Fabii were supposedly state sanctioned and initially conducted by a state official (Caeso Fabius being a praetor/consul in 479) they did not involve a community-based military force and evidently occurred outside the community and/or state’s direct power.⁹³ Additionally, Livy’s reference to the actions of Caeso’s colleague in office, Titus Menenius, who is recorded as occupying a nearby fort but not assisting the Fabii, suggests that this warfare was of a highly independent and individual nature.⁹⁴

Rural landscapes and urban connections

While the continued existence of Latium’s gentilicial warbands demonstrates continuity within certain aspects of archaic Roman and Latin society, the early fifth century also marked an interesting phase of transition for both Latium’s economy and the relationship between local urban communities and the clan-based elite. During the period the region’s urban centers underwent a series of transformations, both economically and demographically. At Rome, the literary sources claimed that the population of the city declined during the period from 130,000 in 508⁹⁵ to 117,319 in 459,⁹⁶ reaching a low of 103,000 in 474.⁹⁷ While these numbers should obviously be taken with a healthy degree of cautious skepticism,⁹⁸

⁹² Momigliano argued that the reforms of Servius Tullius had been allowed to lapse after his death (Momigliano 1963). Also see Snodgrass 1965: 119.

⁹³ It is likely that the line between state and private warfare was not yet fully drawn, as in each of the seven years before the battle at the Cremera river and Fabius was either a consul or proconsul, and it is highly unlikely that this continued dominance of the consulship did not impact on the “private” war against Veii (see Holloway 2008: 119 for discussion).

⁹⁴ Liv. 2.52. ⁹⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.20; Plut. *Publ.* 12. ⁹⁶ Liv. 3.24; Eutr. 1.16.

⁹⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.36.

⁹⁸ The problems with the census figures for early Rome are well documented. See Cornell 1995b: 191–193 for discussion.

particularly given the absence of a censor in the early fifth century and the highly ambiguous nature of Roman citizenship and settlement affiliation during this period,⁹⁹ a decline of over 20 percent in Rome's reported population in just over thirty years represents a significant development. Additionally, this reported decline in population coincided with a gradual slowing, and ultimately stoppage, of building projects in Rome, a pattern also found at other Latin sites, including Ficana, Laurentina, Satricum, and Lavinium. Indeed, all of these urban areas also exhibit archaeological evidence suggesting a general economic shift during the middle of the fifth century, with a marked absence of new building projects, a decline in the number of luxury items, and evidence of limited desertion or destruction at many sites.¹⁰⁰ This economic and demographic shift in Latium during the early fifth century has therefore commonly been described in terms of a general "decline."¹⁰¹ However, the evidence for an overall decline is largely circumstantial and only represents a small portion of the overall picture.¹⁰²

In contrast to this perceived general economic decline within Latium's urban communities, the period also witnessed an increased focus on the region's urban centers as the social and political hubs of Latin society. This is primarily evidenced by the development of sophisticated road networks linking settlements to the rural hinterland.¹⁰³ Additionally, there is evidence to suggest that Latium underwent a mini-agricultural revolution during this period, with evidence for more intensive forms of agricultural cultivation utilizing a variety of new grains.¹⁰⁴ Although there were undoubtedly numerous interrelated causes behind these regional shifts, they are likely to have been partly the result of the influx of tribes and populations into the coastal plain of Latium during the early fifth century.¹⁰⁵ Part of a larger pattern of population movements in Italy during the period, which may have been set off by issues of overpopulation and poor natural resources in the interior, mountain tribes began to move down onto the fertile coastal plains of Italy, and either driving off those already living there or incorporating themselves into the existing

⁹⁹ See [Chapter 6](#).

¹⁰⁰ Although this evidence is general, vague, and not entirely conclusive, it is consistent throughout Latium and central Italy. See [Smith 1996](#): 131–135 for discussion.

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, [Cary and Scullard 1975](#): 64. See [Drummond 1992](#): 113–171 for detailed discussion of the evidence.

¹⁰² That being said, the vast weight of evidence does point toward some sort of economic shift, in a number of different facets of Latin society during the period.

¹⁰³ [Smith 1996](#): 130.

¹⁰⁴ See [Smith 1996](#): 114–122 for general discussion of agriculture in Latium.

¹⁰⁵ See [Cornell 1995b](#): 305 for discussion.

populations. This movement of new peoples into Latium would have increased competition for natural resources and arable land, and possibly resulted in an increase in warfare.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, the movement of peoples across the traditional north–south lines of communication may have led to the demise of many of the inland trade routes,¹⁰⁷ and particularly those between Campania and Etruria, which resulted in a sharp decline in the interregional trade which had fed the aristocratic desire for portable wealth, and particularly items from the Greek city states of Magna Graecia.¹⁰⁸

It is therefore possible that, as a result of the increased competition for resources brought about by the influx of tribes from the interior, the population of Rome declined slightly and moved toward more intensive agricultural practices, in an attempt to maximize production from the land which was still available.¹⁰⁹ As part of this general movement toward a land-based, sedentary economy, the previously mobile clans in Latium accelerated the already existing trend towards settling down in and around various communities, most notably at Rome, gradually turning their attention from portable wealth as a symbol of status to land and other resources.¹¹⁰ This resulted in an increased level of integration between the existing, settled urban communities and the clans, which in turn increased the importance of the settlement as a permanent hub of military, social, and political interaction.

The shifting economy of Latium

The shift in the economy of Latium can be linked to a number of different factors, but particularly to changes in the agricultural model for central Italy. The region's growing population size and density during the seventh, sixth, and fifth centuries meant that the previously existing land-use system, based on a combination of subsistence agriculture and possible

¹⁰⁶ The literary sources seem to indicate an increase in the amount of warfare which Rome engaged in during the period, although this may have been an unintended result of annalistic practices, etc. (see [Chapter 1](#)).

¹⁰⁷ Ogilvie 1976: 149–150. ¹⁰⁸ Forsythe 2005: 44, 49–50.

¹⁰⁹ An alternative to Rome's population actually declining in actual terms is that the increased focus on agriculture during the period resulted in a shift in population from the urban area to the rural hinterland. Given the evidently flexible nature of Roman citizenship and identity at this point, it is possible that this rural population was not counted as accurately or comprehensively.

¹¹⁰ Smith argued that the trend in temple building which originated in the mid sixth century but which reached its zenith in the early fifth century in Latium was part of this redirection of aristocratic wealth (Smith 1996: 186–202).

limited transhumance pastoralism,¹¹¹ was no longer viable.¹¹² This is supported not only by the changes visible in archaeological record, but also by the number of the famines reported for Rome in the early fifth century.¹¹³ Consequently, agriculture in Latium underwent a gradual transition toward more intensive cultivation during the sixth and early fifth centuries, during which the limited arable land was worked to maximize agricultural production. This process, which had begun back in the ninth and eighth centuries,¹¹⁴ was catalyzed in the late sixth and early fifth centuries by both the influx of new peoples and the introduction of new types of crops and new methods of cultivation.¹¹⁵ The result of this shift was that livestock, agricultural produce, and, most importantly, the inherent value of arable land began to have an increased impact on the economy of the gentilicial elite, which hitherto seem to have focused on the types of highly portable wealth seen in the mortuary deposits from the seventh and sixth centuries. Indeed, as a consequence of the increased immigration from the Apennines and the decline of Etruscan and Greek trade routes in central Italy, the economy of the entire Tyrrhenian coast shifted dramatically during the early fifth century.¹¹⁶ As noted above, often discussed in terms of an economic recession, evidence for conspicuous consumption and the importation of luxury items, which had played such a large role in the mortuary practices of Latium during the preceding centuries,¹¹⁷ disappears almost entirely in Latium during the late sixth and fifth centuries. While

¹¹¹ Barker argued for transhumance pastoralism in early Italy (Barker 1981); however, other scholars have been more cautious about its role (see Smith 1996: 116 fn 17). While Latium has never been noted for pastoralism in recent history, the combination of horticulturalism and limited transhumance pastoralism is still practiced in regions of Italy, where the geographic landscape produces an agricultural environment similar to that in archaic Latium (Frayn 1979: 34–46). It must be noted, however, that while there is evidence of large-scale raising of cattle and sheep in Latium during the archaic period (Mazzorin 2001: 327–328, see Chapter 2), which typically necessitated a certain degree of transhumance, there is no direct evidence for this type of behavior in Latium during the period in question.

¹¹² Given the landscape of Latium, this mixed system would have required a low population density in order to be effective (Smith 1996: 114–122; Nolan 2003: 18–20).

¹¹³ See Ogilvie 1965: 256 for discussion.

¹¹⁴ See Smith's discussion of early central Italian subsistence agriculture (Smith 1996: 114–122).

¹¹⁵ Rickman 1980: 26–36.

¹¹⁶ A wide variety of causes for this economic shift have been advanced, including a decline in Greek trade (Cornell 1995b: 225), a decline in Etruscan trade after the removal of the Etruscan monarchy from Rome (Ogilvie 1976: 194), a shift to a “wartime economy” (Bouma and Prummel 1996: 167), etc. It is likely that many of these factors may have played a role; however, it is worth remembering Cornell's warning that the archaeological record for sites along the Tyrrhenian coast is extremely meager (Cornell and Lomas 1995: 225), and as a result the “economic shift” should not be pushed too far.

¹¹⁷ See Bietti Sestieri 1992: 212–220 for the role of interregional contact in Latium during the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries.

this shift was undoubtedly partly due to the decline in luxury items being available through trade from regions outside of Latium, Bouma and others have argued that the general decline in the number of imports, luxury items, new buildings, and metal votive deposits in the archaeological record may not necessarily indicate an economic decline, in contrast to the traditional interpretation.¹¹⁸ Rather, it may indicate a shift in how resources were consumed and deployed with a greater focus on the hinterland and forms of wealth which did not leave a distinct archaeological footprint, coupled with a shift in deposition, particularly with regard to mortuary practice, the most common source of archaeological evidence from central Italy.¹¹⁹ Indeed, as Fulminante's study has suggested, the archaeological evidence coming from recent surveys of Rome's hinterland does not support the "crisis" model, but rather an intensification of activity in the rural areas surrounding Latin communities.¹²⁰ As a result, particularly in Rome, the fifth century should not necessarily be seen as a period of economic decline, but rather as a period of economic change, as the city – and more specifically the region's increasingly settled clans – adapted to the various new military, economic, and population pressures which were being exerted on it.

One of the results of this shifting economy in Latium was a change in the goals and objectives in Latin warfare. While previously central Italian clans and warlords had been concerned with the acquisition and defense of portable wealth, the decline in the availability of imported and luxury goods, coupled with an increase in both the importance and value of land, led to land becoming both a target for warfare and something which needed to be defended. This development was to have important repercussions for the relationship between the aristocratic clans and the urban populations of Latium because it represented an alignment of the military interests of these previously disparate groups.

The literary evidence for the early Republic offers some tantalizing indications of this realignment and the resultant change in military

¹¹⁸ Bouma argued that this shift may represent a shift to a "wartime" economy, where resources were redirected to military pursuits instead of elaborate burials or costly public building projects (Bouma and Prummel 1996: 167). While this model is logical, and seems to fit within the existing evidence, there is no solid evidence to support it (i.e. no evidence for increased military spending).

¹¹⁹ This is likely to explain some of the absence of evidence, as the sixth century saw a decline of elaborate grave goods being included with burials, meaning that their almost complete disappearance in the fifth century may simply have been a continuation of this trend. However, the decline in elaborate burials in the sixth century coincided with an increase in public building projects, something which was notably absent in the early fifth century.

¹²⁰ Fulminante 2014: 168.

practice. As noted, in the final years of the sixth century it is evident that the archaic approach to wealth was still alive and well in Latium. According to both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Tarquinius Superbus demanded the return of his possessions after being forced out of Rome, and arranged for several of his followers to go and collect them.¹²¹ These followers were subsequently accused of trying to rally support for the deposed monarch, and Tarquinius' property, which evidently included the land which would become the Campus Martius, was distributed to the community. The nature of Tarquinius' possessions is therefore slightly problematic. Although it evidently included land, it is unlikely that the Romans would have ever considered giving it to him, as it would have placed him on the very edge of Rome. Consequently, it is probable that most of Tarquinius' wealth, or at least that which he was requesting, was composed of either livestock or other forms of portable wealth. The exile of Collatinus in 508 also demonstrated this archaic aristocratic focus on portable wealth, as Livy noted that he "he abdicated the consulship and having transferred all of his property to Lavinium, withdrew from the community" (*abdicauit se consulatu rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit*). While it is possible that Collatinus simply renounced any claim he had on local land, the ability of the aristocrat to quickly move all of his wealth to another settlement is notable.¹²²

Livy's description of the war with Porsenna, which occurred immediately after the birth of the Republic in 508, provides still more evidence for the continuation of the archaic focus on portable wealth. Livy began by noting that the Romans were forced to "bring all their other property from the fields into the city, but even their herds as well" (*ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur*).¹²³ Additionally, Livy recounted that the consul Valerius, in an effort to "lure forth plunderers" (*eliceret praedatores*), ordered the Romans to drive their herds out of the Esquiline gate (*expelerent pecus*), indicating that the livestock, and not any agricultural produce in the fields, were the likely target of Porsenna's

¹²¹ Liv. 2.3–5.

¹²² It is likely that much of the information contained in these accounts represents the anachronistic embellishment of the narrative by later writers. However, there is no reason to doubt the primary meaning of all of the accounts: that aristocrats were able to move themselves, and their wealth, relatively easily, and were therefore able to transfer their socio-political standing within Rome to another community.

¹²³ Liv. 2.11. The use of the word *pecus* is notable here. While the singular form can be used to mean wealth generally, the word is also employed to refer to cattle and livestock.

men.¹²⁴ It can therefore be argued that a significant portion of Rome's wealth was still in a portable form, and at least partly in the form of livestock.¹²⁵ However, Dionysius' narrative of famines occurring as a result of Porsenna's siege does suggest that the city could not rely entirely on its livestock for sustenance and that agriculture had begun to play an increasingly substantial role in the economy of the community.¹²⁶

This pattern of Latin communities withdrawing within their walls, avoiding battle but letting their land be ravaged, is a common motif during the early years of the fifth century. Dionysius recorded that in 488 the Romans set the land of the Labici on fire, while the people remained in their settlement.¹²⁷ Livy noted that in 479 the army of Caeso Fabius ravaged the land of the Aequi, but they also retreated to their communities and did not fight the Romans.¹²⁸ The same situation occurred in 470, when the Romans led campaigns against the Aequi and the Sabines. Indeed, the consul Valerius was only able to goad the Sabines into battle by burning their settlements, in addition to their fields.¹²⁹ Although details of this type in the literary narratives are clearly problematic for this period, the consistency with which combat is declined and communities and tribes simply withdrew with their belongings instead of defending their territory is notable – particularly when compared with later periods. In contrast to these early decades, the basic pattern of Latin warfare seems to change during the 470s and 460s, with a gradual move toward land being defended, particularly among the Latins and Romans. For instance, Livy noted that the Latins were able to drive off the Volsci and Aequi from their land in 475.¹³⁰ In 471 the Romans fought against both the Aequi and the Volsci, who were ravaging their lands (*vastaverant agros*).¹³¹ In 469 the Romans were forced to react to a raid by the Volsci, when the Volscian army burnt farmhouses in rural areas.¹³² Again, the problematic nature of the narrative means that all of this should be viewed incredibly cautiously, but it adds weight to the increasingly large circumstantial case for this change in behavior.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 2.11. The fact that the phrase “the goods of the rex Porsenna” (*bona Porsennae regis*) was also associated with the sale of booty in later Roman times also hints that portable wealth was strongly associated with this period of history (*ibid.* 2.14).

¹²⁵ The bringing in of the livestock represents a typical *topos* for a city under siege, and must therefore be taken with a grain of salt. However, the presence of livestock at Rome and other Latin settlements is supported by archaeological evidence (see [Chapter 2](#)), and there is no reason to doubt that they still played a significant role in the Roman economy at this point.

¹²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.26.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 8.19.

¹²⁸ Liv. 2.48.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 2.62.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 2.53.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 2.57.

¹³² *Ibid.* 2.63.

Perhaps the most significant indication of the shifting economy of Latium, however, was the advent of land being acquired as a spoil of war. The first explicit instance of this in the year 495 when, after a victory over Pometia, Livy recorded that the senate took away a portion of their land (*ager ademptus*).¹³³ Then, in the year 486, Rome concluded a treaty with the Hernici, which included the Roman acquisition of a third of their land (a pattern which would become a fixture of later Roman treaties) and the supposed advent of Rome's first agrarian legislation.¹³⁴ This was followed by later agrarian laws, including one in 480 proposed by the tribune Ti. Pontificius,¹³⁵ and one in 476 proposed by Q. Considius and T. Genucius,¹³⁶ which indicated that land was viewed as being inherently valuable.¹³⁷ It should be noted, however, that although these early measures are often presented as attempts at agrarian reform and land redistribution similar to those proposed by the Gracchi in the late second century,¹³⁸ the extent of this redistribution was extremely limited, as in the treaty which Rome agreed with the Hernici the captured land seems to have remained in the hands of those who captured it and so effectively represented a spoil of war.¹³⁹

Rome's legal system also began to reflect the community's changing values. As Ferenczy argued, the laws of *The Twelve Tables* created in 451 and 450 demonstrated the growing importance of private property, and

¹³³ *Ibid.* 2.27.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 2.41. This particular instance of land acquisition is highly problematic, because Livy claimed that the Hernici were deprived of land, while Dionysius of Halicarnassus stated that they were not (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.77), but argued that they were made allies, and Sp. Cassius included them in his bill to redistribute *ager publicus* which was being illegally used by the wealthy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.69). De Sanctis presented one of the most convincing arguments to explain this contradiction, arguing that Livy combined Sp. Cassius' supposed agrarian law with a separate treaty with the Hernici of the same year (De Sanctis 1907: II: 8–9). Although De Sanctis argued that the agrarian law was an anachronistic creation, Cornell opined that the narrative may contain a kernel of truth (Cornell 1995b: 270–271). Either way, it is clear that land was remembered as being an issue in the year 486, hinting at its increasing prominence in the economy of Latium.

¹³⁵ Liv. 2.44. ¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 2.52; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.27; Dio fr. 20.3.

¹³⁷ Some of this emphasis on agrarian legislation may have been the result of late republican politics involving agrarian laws, and indeed some scholars have adopted the stance that all agrarian laws from the early and middle Republic were invented “anticipations” of later Gracchan proposals (see particularly Beloch 1926; Ogilvie 1965; Cornell 1995b: 270). However, De Martino argued that these agrarian laws were major political movements, which may have been included in the annalistic accounts (De Martino 1979: 15). As a result, while much of the embellishment in the narrative may represent a post-Gracchan understanding of agrarian legislation, Cornell's interpretation of events, where the agrarian plebiscites represented a cultural memory of actual attempts to redistribute land, remains the most convincing.

¹³⁸ See Cornell 1995b: 269–271 for discussion.

¹³⁹ This treaty (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.77) implied that land was divided up according to who was involved in the military action, a principle which is generally supported by Rome's later actions.

particularly land, in the early and middle fifth century.¹⁴⁰ For instance, Table 5 (9–11) regulated the procedure in case joint heirs should ask for the distribution of property, an issue which would have become increasing problematic with more and more wealth taking the form of land as opposed to portable wealth or livestock.¹⁴¹ This is supported by the concern which *The Twelve Tables* had for the rights of the members of the *gens*, who were able to inherit in certain cases where no direct heirs were apparent. This acted as a way to keep property, and most notably land, within the control of a *gens*.¹⁴²

The transition toward an economy which favored land-based, agricultural wealth was likely gradual. Although Rome had clearly begun to view land as a viable form of wealth, other assets remained Rome's primary currency, if for no other reason than because the community did not utilize coinage until the fourth century.¹⁴³ Land was always an inherently difficult form of wealth to transfer, and for an economy to function without coinage, or another type of fixed currency,¹⁴⁴ there needed to be a sufficient amount of portable wealth available to supply an effective barter system.¹⁴⁵ Despite the perceived decline in trade with communities outside of Latium during the fifth century, and given Rome's size and key position on the Tiber, it is likely that she retained an effective local economy and continued to function as a regional trading hub.¹⁴⁶ This suggests that the city's economy still contained enough portable property for the economy to function, although perhaps not always in the form of bronzes or ceramics, which seem to have been favored during the previous centuries, then in the form of livestock and agricultural produce.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, the importance of livestock as an expression of currency should also not be understated; the literary sources recorded that fines were traditionally levied in animals – two cows and thirty sheep according to Dionysius¹⁴⁸, two sheep and thirty cows according to Gellius and Festus.¹⁴⁹ Furthering this gradual approach, although the early fifth century witnessed an increase in

¹⁴⁰ Ferenczy 1976: 21–22. ¹⁴¹ Watson 1975: 52–70. ¹⁴² *Ibid.*: 67–68.

¹⁴³ Crawford 1985: 17.

¹⁴⁴ Cornell argued that although coinage was absent, Romans utilized measures of bronze (*asses*), as prescribed by the Servian Constitution (Cornell 1995b: 288).

¹⁴⁵ As Appleton noted in his analysis of early Roman debt, in a premonetary economy debt was also likely to be a major problem for small landholders (Appleton 1919: 467).

¹⁴⁶ Cornell 1995b: 287.

¹⁴⁷ See Drummond 1992: 128–130 for a discussion of the decline in pottery and similar industries during this period.

¹⁴⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.50.

¹⁴⁹ Festus 220 L. These fines were later converted into other forms in 430 (Cic. *Rep.* 2.60; Liv. 4.30; Festus 220L)

agricultural intensification, Roman agricultural plots seem to have still been relatively small by modern subsistence standards (the traditional plots supposedly ranging from two to seven *iugera*).¹⁵⁰ Moreover, there is evidence for a cultural memory of limited agriculture in the archaic period. In a digression on *The Twelve Tables*, Pliny noted that “*nusquam nominatur villa, semper in significatione ea hortus, in horti vero heredium*,” where *hortus* was traditionally understood as a kitchen garden or a peasant’s small plot of land.¹⁵¹ This limited nature of agriculture is also supported by a wide range of notices of agrarian practices in the literary evidence, one of the most notable being the description of the land belonging to the early fifth-century dictator Cincinnatus as only amounting to four *iugera*.¹⁵²

But things were clearly changing. As noted above, elaborate grave goods largely disappear from mortuary contexts and votive deposits,¹⁵³ which had previously been made out of a wide variety of materials, including precious metals, saw a general decline in number and began to be made almost exclusively of ceramics.¹⁵⁴ Temple building, a popular activity in Latin communities during the sixth century, was largely abandoned during the fifth century.¹⁵⁵ While there were six temples dedicated in Rome between 509 and 484, no temples were dedicated between 484 and 433.¹⁵⁶ While there is only limited archaeological evidence of how land was utilized

¹⁵⁰ Romulus was said to have given his followers two *iugera* each (Varro *RR* 1.10.2), which was also the amount which was purportedly given to early Roman colonists (Liv. 8.21). Cornell argued that plots of seven *iugera* or less were common in early Rome, but noted that this is surprising because even a plot of seven *iugera* was less than half the minimum that would have been required, using Roman methods of agriculture, to support a family (Cornell 1995b: 269).

¹⁵¹ Pliny *NH* 19.50–51; Frayn 1974: 13. The limited nature of this early agrarianism is slightly problematic. Cornell argued that laws of *The Twelve Tables* indicated that economic life in Rome was predominantly agrarian in nature during the middle of the fifth century, as the vast majority of the regulations were concerned with farmland and crops (Cornell 1995b: 287). This contradiction may be explained by the traditional importance of agrarianism within the community, and the role which the laws of *The Twelve Tables* were intended to perform. As noted in Chapter 2, it is likely that while both the elite and urban populations in Rome utilized a mixed economy, including both agriculture and pastoralism, the settled population exhibited a tendency toward agrarianism, while the elite tended toward pastoralism during the sixth and early fifth centuries. As a result, if the laws of the *Twelve Tables* were intended to regulate the relationship of groups within the settlement, it is likely that they would have focused on the type of economy present in the settlement, namely agrarianism.

¹⁵² Liv. 3.26.

¹⁵³ There are a few marked exceptions, most notably a grave from Lanuvium which dates to the fifth century and contained a warrior panoply (*GRT*: 266–267).

¹⁵⁴ Bouma and Prummel 1996: 167.

¹⁵⁵ See *ibid.*: 167 for an brief overview of this in Latium. See Ceccarelli and Marroni 2011 for a detailed discussion. For central Italy see Potts 2011: 41–52. At Rome specifically see Cornell and Lomas 1995: 266.

¹⁵⁶ Cornell and Lomas 1995: 266.

during the sixth and fifth centuries in Latium,¹⁵⁷ there is a wide variety of indirect indicators which support the gradual transformation toward more intensive cultivation. During the eighth and seventh centuries most of Latium was composed of marshland, woodland, or scrub, and was therefore unsuitable for large-scale agricultural production. Pastoralism could of course make use of land not suitable for agriculture, most notably rocky terrain, water-meadows, etc.¹⁵⁸ During the sixth and fifth centuries, attempts were made to reclaim marshland and reinforce existing patches of arable land against erosion near Latin settlements, most notably Fidenae and Crustumerium, often using *cuniculi*, or rock cut ditches typically measuring 1 m deep by 0.5 m wide, which would have been used for drainage.¹⁵⁹ Roof tiles which have been found outside of settlements indicate the emergence of relatively substantial buildings in the countryside during the sixth and early fifth centuries – a development epitomized by sites like the Auditorium Villa near Rome.¹⁶⁰ These rural buildings were linked to the region's urban centers by road networks, which were also built during the sixth and early fifth centuries, all supporting the presence of more intensive rural focus and the development of agriculture and land investment during the period.¹⁶¹

This pattern is also evident in southern Etruria, and particularly in the area around Rome's early rival Veii. The British School at Rome conducted an extensive field survey of the *ager Veientanus* during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, which dramatically improved the understanding of agricultural practices during the sixth and fifth centuries.¹⁶² The survey revealed that the area around Veii was covered with a relatively dense pattern of rural settlement during the late sixth and fifth centuries, and saw the introduction of *cuniculi* during the fifth century, as in Latium.¹⁶³

The trend toward an increasing dependence on agriculture is also borne out by studies of fifth-century skeletal remains from Satricum carried out by Rubini, Bonafede, Mogliazza, and Marroni. Their work has concluded that the diet of the population at Satricum during the fifth century was largely dependent on vegetables and cereals, although there was evidence for protein-rich foods, such as milk and meat, indicating a subsistence economy based on agriculture, but which still retained the proteic-based form of production like breeding and stock-raising.¹⁶⁴ This mixed model is also evident at the Latin site of Ardea, but the focus on agrarianism reaches

¹⁵⁷ Smith 1996: 129. ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 191. ¹⁵⁹ Frank 1919: 270–271; Smith 1996: 130–132.

¹⁶⁰ Terrenato 2001. See also Smith 1996: 130–133 for discussion. ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 130.

¹⁶² See Cornell 1995b: 310–313 for a summary and Potter 1979 for a detailed discussion.

¹⁶³ Cornell 1995b: 310. ¹⁶⁴ Gnade and Rubini 2002: 125, 172.

its pinnacle in Etruria, where skeletal evidence indicates an almost complete dependence on grain and vegetables during the fifth century.¹⁶⁵ Although comparative material from earlier burials is lacking, this evidence does support the model of a mixed economy with an increasingly agricultural element in central Italy, particularly when compared with faunal remains from the sixth and seventh centuries.

The emergence of a landed aristocracy

By the early fifth century, the connection which existed between Latium's extramural clans and urban communities during the fifth century had already gone through several phases and permutations. From the seventh century clans and clan leaders were evidently able to dominate many of the region's emerging communities, albeit with at least the tacit support of the urban population and in what can be assumed to be a mutually beneficial relationship. However, despite this connection, the clans seem to have retained a high degree of mobility and utilized a very personal, or clan-centered, means of self-expression and presentation, which is best seen in the burial rites of the period.¹⁶⁶ During the sixth century the local gentilicial elite began to use the communities as a new arena for displaying personal wealth and power, as wealthy burials began to disappear from the archaeological record and new public building projects appeared in their stead.¹⁶⁷ While this new focus on permanent constructions within communities indicated an increasingly strong link between the gentilicial aristocracy which built them and the communities themselves, the continued mobility of many of these clans during the period suggests that public buildings and monuments were not necessarily indications of either permanent residence or allegiance.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, if the Lapis Satricanus does in fact refer to Publicola, as is often argued, it would indicate that even as late as the late sixth century a single member of the elite was able to maintain a public image in at least two different communities.

The early fifth century, however, witnessed a distinct change in how clans and the region's gentilicial elite related to Latium's urban centers. All previously existing forms of elite self-identification began to disappear, including both elaborate burials and public building works, and evidence

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: 169. ¹⁶⁶ See [Chapters 2, 3](#).

¹⁶⁷ The link between these two developments has long been accepted. See [Smith 1996](#): 150–184 for discussion.

¹⁶⁸ [Cornell 1995b](#): 144–145.

starts to emerge for Latin elites permanently integrating themselves into the economic matrix and socio-political hierarchy of communities, most notably of Rome. This integration was also associated with the claiming of land surrounding the communities by the clans, thereby permanently linking themselves to a particular geographic location and a particular community.¹⁶⁹ The emergence of a settled, landed aristocracy is seen in the literary evidence in several ways. First, particular clan leaders and *gentes* began to be associated with, and defend, particular parcels of land outside of the city during this period.¹⁷⁰ Second, there is the development of the acquired land, in terms of both structures and agricultural infrastructure. Third, there was the beginning of the “closing” of the patriciate, or aristocracy in Rome (*De Sanctis’ la serrata*), which consolidated the power of the settled aristocracy and effectively limited the possibility of new mobile clans or warlords gaining leverage within the community.¹⁷¹

One of the first references to the association of large portions of land outside of the city of Rome with a particular family or individual was the already mentioned association of the Campus Martius with the Tarquinii.¹⁷² Soon after, the sources describe the distribution of land on the other side of the River Anio to the followers of the Sabine Attus Clausius upon their arrival in Rome *c.* 505.¹⁷³ While it is likely that the exact parcel of land associated with the *gens*, *ager trans Anienem*, was derived from its later association with the Claudian tribe, there was clearly a strong link between the Claudii and this particular region.¹⁷⁴ The association between an individual and a specific piece of land was also marked by Livy’s description of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus as one who “cultivated a field of some four *iugera* across the Tiber, now known as the Quinctian Meadows.”¹⁷⁵ Again, this reference may have represented an attempt to provide an etiology for something which was evidently in existence in Livy’s day, but the sheer number of these associations in this period is intriguing. Further, Cornell has argued that the war between the Fabii and Veii in the 470s resulted from the

¹⁶⁹ The role of these new, geographically-based *gens* units may have been roughly analogous to the Samnite *pagus* (Salmon 1967: 79–80), which survived into the period of Roman domination.

¹⁷⁰ It is difficult to distinguish ownership of land/property in early Rome between individuals and families/*gentes*, because of the commonality of ownership under the figure of the *pater familias* and the right of *patria potestas*. See Crook 1967, for a detailed discussion of *patria potestas* and Smith 2006 for the role of the *gens* with regard to property.

¹⁷¹ See below and Chapter 5. ¹⁷² Liv. 2.5.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 2.16. Dionysius noted that the land was between Fidenae and Picetia (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 5.40).

¹⁷⁴ Livy’s explanation of the origin of this land made this clear: *vetus Claudia tribus additis postea novis tribulibus qui ex eo venirent agro appellati* (Liv. 2.16).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 3.26.

location of the Fabii tribe next to the *ager Veientanus*, and thus represented a defense of “private land.”¹⁷⁶ Although the evidence is tenuous at best, the literary sources mentioned a frontier post or fort (*praesidium*) near the Cremera River, which indicated a permanent association with this territory.¹⁷⁷ This hypothesis is also supported by Taylor in her study of the voting districts of Rome, where the region corresponds to the same *gens*’ sphere of influence in the later Republic – although this may represent a circular argument as Taylor based her association in part on the Fabii’s connection with the Cremera River.¹⁷⁸

The late sixth or early fifth century also likely saw the formalization of the *Ager Romanus Antiquus* at something resembling its traditional extent, which was an expression of Rome’s influence which extended beyond the *pomerium*.¹⁷⁹ As Salmon noted, while the exact limits of this archaic influence are still uncertain, it is traditionally thought to have extended c. 5 miles from the Captiol.¹⁸⁰ Fulminante’s recent work has effectively combined the literary and archaeological data into a convincing argument to suggest a *de facto* zone of control within this area from the early archaic period, which was slowly formalized through shrines and other ritual activity at this distance.¹⁸¹ The *Ager Romanus Antiquus* seems to have represented the limits of what could be considered “Roman” during this early period in Rome’s political and civic development, with anything beyond being too far away from the urban core to be an effective part of the community. It would have been able to include most, if not all, of Rome’s archaic rural tribes, although not necessarily to their late republican extents.¹⁸² However, as Fulminante’s work has demonstrated, the carrying capacity of the land within this c. 5 mile radius would not have been able to support the estimated population of Rome in even the seventh or early sixth centuries – making it a slightly problematic phenomenon.¹⁸³ Either the traditional delineation of the *Ager Romanus Antiquus* is incorrect or its function as a clear delineation of “Roman territory” has been misinterpreted. Both options are clearly possible, but the latter is more plausible when looking at the overall picture of Roman society at this time. Although those in Rome would have surely preferred to have controlled enough land to produce the food necessary to feed the entire population of the city, this was not a requirement as additional food could be acquired through trade. Additionally, given that land outside of *Ager Romanus Antiquus* would have

¹⁷⁶ Cornell 1995b: 311. ¹⁷⁷ Liv. 2.48. ¹⁷⁸ Taylor 1960: 40–41.

¹⁷⁹ See Fulminante 2014: 105–132 for detailed discussion. ¹⁸⁰ Salmon 1982: 3, 183.

¹⁸¹ Fulminante 2014: 132. ¹⁸² See Taylor 1960. ¹⁸³ Fulminante 2014: 132.

been both a significant distance away from the urban center, making regular contact and therefore identification tricky, and exposed to raids and other hazards, it is entirely possible that it formed a liminal zone which was dominated by the more independent clans of the regions with what may have been tenuous associations to the community of Rome.

An increasing body of survey data from central Italy has also begun to shed light on how the territory around Rome developed during this transitional period. This data supports the interpretation that the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries marked a period of sustained growth in central Italy generally, with the growth occurring via both existing settlements and new foundations.¹⁸⁴ The fifth century, however, seems to represent a time of demographic stasis, where growth was limited but also experienced a marked shift in land use characterized by the advent of the republican style “villa.”¹⁸⁵ Indeed, from the fifth century onward there is an increasing stability and continuity visible at sites in Rome’s hinterland. While previously there had been both a number of abandoned sites and a large number new sites visible within the archaeological record for each period, from the fifth century onward the Roman hinterland took on an increasingly stable appearance, with new and abandoned sites all but disappearing from the archaeological record. Instead, there was regular growth and development at a smaller number of sites, identified as “villas” or “proto-villas,” which remained in use well into the late republican period.¹⁸⁶ This suggests that during this period, the Roman hinterland was increasing settled and developed using the villa-style organization, which, at least in later periods, was generally synonymous with Rome’s gentilicial elite.

The long-term control of land near communities, and particularly the increased investment in that land through clearing, permanent structures, and irrigation projects, likely strengthened the bond which existed between the rural clans and the communities. Some of the best evidence for this in the literature is the creation of a stable landed aristocracy in Rome alongside the gradual “closing” of the patriciate sometime after the arrival of the Claudii in 505. This closing of the patriciate is a theory used to explain the gradual accumulation of power in Rome by a few distinct *gentes* during the fifth century (as evidenced by control of the magistracies), by arguing that the previously inclusive aristocratic class at Rome became increasingly exclusive over the period.¹⁸⁷ While the exact nature and date of the

¹⁸⁴ Fulminante 2014: 142.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 142–144.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ The theory of the closing of the patriciate is commonly attributed to De Sanctis (De Sanctis 1907–1956) although, as Cornell noted, the modern understanding of the phenomenon is not quite what

closing of the patriciate is still uncertain, its existence is both supported by the available evidence and generally accepted by the modern scholarly community.

The closing of the patriciate represented a dramatic shift in how the Latin elite identified themselves. During the sixth and early fifth centuries, it is clear that central Italian clans and clan leaders were able to move from settlement to settlement with little or no impact on their power or status. The closing of the aristocracy in Rome to only a few *gentes*, and likely those which were in Rome during the early and middle fifth century, indicated that this era of gentilicial mobility was coming to an end, and aristocratic *gentes* were being forced to choose which settlements to associate themselves with on a permanent basis. Although it is unclear whether membership in the new, exclusive patriciate required a certain level of land ownership, it presumably did incorporate geographic considerations (most notably proximity to Rome) and represented a clear attempt to end the aristocratic mobility which had been so evident in the aristocracy throughout Latium and central Italy. It is also worth noting that this period did not witness the complete end of gentilicial mobility, and indeed the Latin right of exile or migration, as affirmed in the *foedus Cassianum*, suggests that this continued in some form. Instead, it merely suggests that it was changing and evolving, and that the movement of clan between communities likely had much larger and more serious implications after this period.

The evidence for this shift toward a landed aristocracy during the early fifth century is hard to pinpoint in the archaeological record. Perhaps the best indications come from Carandini's excavations on the Palatine in the late 1980s, which discovered what he described as four large atrium houses built in the final years of the sixth century.¹⁸⁸ These buildings evidently survived until c. 210 and (although the attribution is unknown) given their longevity, size, and position on the Palatine they seem to have represented the houses of some of Rome's early and mid-republican patrician elite.¹⁸⁹ It is indeed their longevity, in addition to their late sixth-century origins, which supports the association of these houses with a new breed of settled elites. Further excavation of the houses revealed that each had been built on

De Sanctis meant by "la serrata del patriziato." Most modern scholars have interpreted the closing of the patriciate as a few specific *gentes* "turning a majority into a monopoly" rather than De Sanctis' hypothesis of the creation of an exclusive, hereditary caste (Cornell 1995b: 255). Cornell's interpretation, that *la serrata* was likely to have been a combination of these two factors, is probably correct. See Chapter 5 for additional discussion.

¹⁸⁸ Carandini 1990. ¹⁸⁹ See also Forsythe 2005: 84 for discussion.

top of four earlier versions, datable on ceramic evidence to *c.* 550, *c.* 600, *c.* 675, and *c.* 725.¹⁹⁰ The short period of time between the construction of each house and its demolition in favor of a new building, roughly fifty years, is suggestive of the type of mobile aristocracy which was present in Latium during the eighth to sixth centuries with each iteration possibly belonging to a new *gens*. However, the final house, built *c.* 500, remained intact until the end of the third century, demonstrating a remarkable durability and possibly indicative of the new permanence of the Roman aristocracy.

This evidence is also supported by sites like the Auditorium Villa, discovered in the preparation for the Auditorium in Rome, near the *via Flaminia*.¹⁹¹ The villa seems to have gone through several distinct phases of occupation, with the first dating to the middle of the sixth century, and with the structure being finally abandoned in the second century AD.¹⁹² The building began its life, in the sixth century, as a 20 m × 20 m structure, composed of a courtyard surrounded by ten rooms. There is evidence for animal husbandry at the early site, and the early ceramic deposits included dateable sixth-century *bucchero* ware.¹⁹³ By the mid fifth century the complex was doubled in size (reaching its final extent, which it would maintain into the Imperial period), and by the mid third century had evolved into the classic atrium-style structure. Although there is no exact parallel for the early incarnations of the structure, its basic size and layout is reminiscent of one of the many small farmsteads dotted across the countryside of both Latium and Etruria in the seventh and sixth centuries,¹⁹⁴ leading Terrenato to argue that it was the base of a *gens* which may have permanently settled in Roman territory during the late sixth century.¹⁹⁵ This basic model can be seen at numerous other sites in the Roman hinterland as well, with small farmsteads appearing in the late seventh and sixth centuries, developing during the course of the fifth century, and often becoming true villas in the middle and late republican periods, indicating a remarkable level of longevity and stability.¹⁹⁶

Evidence from Satricum suggests that this trend in settlement development may have been region-wide. Material from the excavations at the site of Poggio dei Cavallari indicated the construction of a series of new dwellings built in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, which were occupied down into the fourth century.¹⁹⁷ Additionally, although there is strong evidence for

¹⁹⁰ Carandini 1990. ¹⁹¹ Carandini 1997; Terrenato 2001.

¹⁹² See Smith 2006: 153–154 for discussion. ¹⁹³ Smith 2006: 154. ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 154.

¹⁹⁵ Terrenato 2001. ¹⁹⁶ Fulminante 2014: 144–145.

¹⁹⁷ The evidence is indirect, but the discovery of a rubbish dump containing building debris dating to the period has been interpreted as evidence of building (Gnade and Rubini 2002: 100).

continuity between the archaic settlement and that of the late sixth and fifth centuries, there are indicators of a series of notable changes in occupation patterns in Satricum, which may be the result of the settling of new aristocratic clan units, albeit possibly of Volscian origins.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, the sudden presence of a new elite in Satricum is supported by the reappearance of furnished burials in the Satricum necropolis during the early fifth century, recalling the practice of the seventh-century elite in the region.¹⁹⁹

Much of the other archaeological evidence for the development of a settled gentilicial aristocracy is indirect. While the evidence for investment in the rural countryside and the increase in roads linking the countryside to the urban centers may indicate the presence of a landed aristocracy, nothing directly supports this conclusion. Kleibrink and Attema have argued that pottery finds in rural sites outside of Latin communities (most notably Lanuvium) illustrate a strong economic link between rural settlements and urban communities during the fifth century.²⁰⁰ These rural sites seem to have been very modest during the fifth century, but by the fourth century they had evolved into large stone structures which dominated the surrounding landscape, strongly hinting at possible aristocratic ownership.²⁰¹

The emergence of community-based military forces

One of the fundamental differences between Roman society in the sixth century and that evident during the early fifth century was the gradual emergence of the community as a factor in Latin warfare. During the sixth century, Latin warfare seems to have been conducted almost exclusively by the aristocratic warlords and their clans and followers. While it is likely that many of the aristocrats or their followers, or both, may have been associated with various communities, as Sextus Tarquinius was at Gabii or indeed the *reges* of Rome, the warfare was decidedly clan-based in nature – and indeed, as discussed later in this chapter, archaic *imperium* may have actually represented the extension of gentilicial power (that wielded by the *paterfamilias*). During the early fifth century, evidence suggests a shift in the nature of military activity in the region, with warfare occasionally having been conducted by community-based forces, in addition to clan- or *gens*-based forces, often for the purpose of achieving limited community-centered goals. The reasons for this change in military behavior are

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: 99.

¹⁹⁹ Although, as Gnade noted, Satricum appears to be the exception to the rule and the appearance of furnished graves may be indicative of the Volscian character of the new elite (*ibid.*: 105).

²⁰⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Attema 2001: 422–423. ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 425.

likely to have been varied. The increasingly settled nature of *gentes* in and around settlements in Latium may have resulted in closer ties with other local clans and the community as a whole. The focus on agriculture and land by the clans may have resulted in a general alignment in military goals both between the clans and the community and among the various clans themselves, particularly when it came to defense. Additionally, the influx of peoples and tribes into the coastal plain of Latium from the mountainous interior of Italy seems to have put increased strain on the smaller *gens*-based military forces and on the settlements, which did not have strong military traditions, possibly forcing an alliance of necessity.²⁰² Indeed, although problematic because of the new annalistic structure adopted for the republican period, the literary sources for the early fifth century suggest a marked escalation in the amount of warfare during the period,²⁰³ while the archaeological evidence from central Italy indicates that several smaller urban centers were either abandoned or destroyed during this period.²⁰⁴

As Rome's late republican writers assumed that the community, as a unified entity, had been involved in Roman warfare from a very early period, the majority of the literary evidence for this shift toward a more unified military is indirect, although not insubstantial. It includes both the sudden emergence of problems with both motivation and discipline within Roman military forces during the fifth century and the formation of a new classification of people within Rome, the plebeians, whose primary means of influence in their struggle with the patricians seems to have their ability to boycott military levies. This shift is also marked by a new spate of fortification projects during the middle of the fifth century, a development which gradually picked up steam in the period of c. 400 and in the early fourth century, and the final disappearance of military equipment from individual funerary contexts, perhaps indicating that military activity was no longer a vital aspect of elite identity.

The literary evidence for this transition toward a community-based military force is based on two distinct aspects of Roman warfare: the increasing incorporation of the plebeians into Rome's armed forces during

²⁰² De Sanctis (De Sanctis 1907: II: 98) argued that type of alliance may have been hinted at in the *Foedus Cassianum* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95), where the "Romans" and the "Latins" agreed to a mutual defense pact and not to grant safe passage to enemies (see Cornell 1995b: 299–301 for discussion). While it is likely that the "Romans" and "Latins" mentioned by Dionysius may have represented an anachronistic explanation of the parties involved (Dionysius claimed to have used the treaty, as inscribed on a bronze pillar, as his source), the general purpose of the treaty may have been authentic. This situation becomes even more problematic, however, with the introduction of the possibility of a "Latin Army," suggested by Cincius as quoted in Festus (276 L).

²⁰³ See above. ²⁰⁴ Torelli 1981: 186–188; Colonna 1990: 10–14.

the early fifth century, and Rome's gradual change in military goals and objectives. Beginning with the incorporation of the plebeians, the nature of this phenomenon is inherently contentious as it involves several issues which have yet to be resolved, including the identity of the plebeians, their relationship to the rest of Roman society, and the nature of Rome's early republican constitution.²⁰⁵ For the purposes of the present volume only one point needs to be established: the initial position of the plebeians inside the community of Rome, but outside Rome's standard military system.²⁰⁶

The position of the plebeians with regard to Rome's military forces is somewhat ambiguous in the literary evidence. It is clear that the ancient authors viewed the plebs as an integral part of the Roman army since the advent of the Republic at the latest, because many of the plebs' early social and political issues, most notably those which sparked the first recorded plebeian secession of 494, were placed in martial contexts.²⁰⁷ However, a body of evidence, which is gaining increased recognition among modern scholars, suggests that the plebs were not always part of the sixth and early fifth century Roman army, or at least played only a marginal role. First there is the marked distinction between the plebeians and the *populus*, which was traditionally understood to have made up Rome's archaic infantry.²⁰⁸ This distinction is evident in archaic official and sacral language, including the phrase *populus plebesque*, which is found in a range of contexts from sacral²⁰⁹ to legal (most notably Cicero),²¹⁰ and the nature and character of early plebeian institutions.²¹¹ Most telling, however, is the political impotence of the plebs during the early Republic, despite their repeated boycotts of levies,²¹² indicating perhaps that their military contribution was not a particularly strong bargaining chip.²¹³

²⁰⁵ A wide range of works exist on these topics. See Mitchell 1990, Cornell and Lomas 1995, and Raafaub 2005a for discussions of the various views.

²⁰⁶ This should be understood as separate from Rome's early constitution. ²⁰⁷ Liv. 2.32.

²⁰⁸ Smith 2006: 200.

²⁰⁹ For instance, see Liv. 25.12: ...*carmina Marciana "praetor is qui ius populo plebeique dabit summum."*

²¹⁰ Cic. *Pro Mur.* I.1. ²¹¹ See Momigliano 2005: 174 for discussion.

²¹² 495 War against the Volsci (Liv. 2.13–25, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.22–30); 495 War against Auruncia (Liv. 2.27); 494 War against the Aequi (Liv. 2.32, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.44–96); 494 War against the Volsci (Liv. 2.33, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.44–96); 491–488 War against the Volsci w/ Coriolanus (Liv. 2.39, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.2–15); 483 War against the Volsci (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.87); 482–480 War against the Aequi and Veii (Liv. 2.42); 473 proposed war against an unknown opponent (Liv. 2.55, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.44); 461 War against the Aequi and Volsci (Liv. 3.10); 460 Slave Revolt (Liv. 3.15–20); 458 War against the Aequi (Liv. 3.25); 457 War against the Aequi (Liv. 3.28).

²¹³ Cornell 1983.

Assuming that the Servian Constitution was still largely descriptive, as opposed to prescriptive, during the early Republic, it is likely that Rome's armed forces were composed of the same regional elite who had previously dominated Latium's warfare, albeit acting in an increasingly federated fashion based on an affiliation with the community of Rome. Indeed, for those clans based around the city of Rome, the community may have increasingly taken on the role and duties of the archaic Latin Council, offering a point of contact and a means for unifying, and also starting the long process of positioning Rome and her associated *gentes* in opposition to the larger regional structure. Within this model several viable options for the position of the plebs become evident, with the most probable being that the fundamental division between *populus* and plebeian was one of clan or *gens* affiliation, at least in the military sphere. All of the groups in this period seem to have been reasonably fluid, making a definitive identification impossible, but the defining feature of the *populus* may have been membership in the army of one of the *praetores*. As these armies still seem to have retained much of their archaic and private character, even when associated with the community, this membership likely involved either a previously existing gentilicial link or becoming at least a nominal *cliens* of the leader; perhaps both were allowed and governed by the mechanism of *imperium*.

Imperium is an extremely complex topic and there is very little which scholars can agree on with regard to it, even in the better-documented late Republic, making any discussion of its early incarnations difficult to say the least. However, a few broad points may be discerned which can shed some light on it in this particular context. First, as suggested previously, although it is still disputed whether the *lex curiata de imperio* passed by the *comitia curiata* actually granted *imperium* or not during the regal period or early Republic (*imperium* may have been granted by the initial vote and then confirmed via the *lex curiata*),²¹⁴ during the regal period at least this represents a moot point as the *curiae* would have been nominally responsible for electing the *rex* as well confirming the grant. Therefore the grant of *imperium* seems to represent, at least originally, a bond between the *rex* and the community as represented by the *curiae*. Second, although the nuances of this bond are impossible to determine for certain, there is a significant body of evidence suggesting that *imperium* existed in the same sphere as gentilicial *patria potestas*. This was originally suggested by Mommsen in his work on Roman Statutes and, as Nisbet and others have noted, there often seems to

²¹⁴ See Nicholls 1967, Brennan 1996, and Smith 2006: 220–223 for discussion.

have been a core conflict between these two concepts, particularly in the military sphere, as they were often felt to overlap.²¹⁵ Third, the basic areas which seem to have fallen under archaic *imperium* all coincide closely with the usual prerogatives of a *paterfamilias*, particularly in the military sphere. A general imbued with *imperium* had the power of life or death over his soldiers and was the highest source of justice within the army. He also carried the auspices and led the group in religious and ritual matters. However, like a *paterfamilias* or indeed a patron, he also carried an obligation for taking care of his soldiers and ensuring that they were rewarded for their service. The archaic grant of *imperium* can therefore be understood as creating between the community and a magistrate a bond similar to that which existed between a clan leader and a clan member or *cliens* and a patron.

This continuation of the archaic *gens*-based relationship within Roman and Latin armies is supported by the distinctly individual character of Roman and Latin armies during the period. For instance, there is evidence to suggest that *praetores* and dictators maintained a close connection with, and loyalty to, their armies, which would belie the short period of mobilization common for armies during the early Republic. In 458, after a victory against the Aequi which had been won along with another consular army, Cincinnatus offered booty only to his own army; a point which was rationalized by the ancient sources as a punishment for perceived cowardice on the part of the second Roman force.²¹⁶ Additionally, while the literary sources explicitly noted that some consular commands were distributed by lot, it is possible that some consular military assignments may have had personal motivations.²¹⁷ Although the activity of the Fabii against the city of Veii c. 480 is typically used to demonstrate *gens*-based warfare, it should also be recognized that Caeso Fabius was consul/*praetor* when he began the private conflict.²¹⁸ There are also several instances of consuls/*praetores* conducting raids and other offensive maneuvers which seem to have had little or no impact on the community as a whole.²¹⁹ Indeed, even as late as 414, there is evidence for Rome's military leaders – in this case the consular tribunes Aulus Postumius and Lucius Iulius – recruiting armies from volunteers and focused largely on plunder.²²⁰

²¹⁵ Nisbet 1968: 218 and Beck 2011. ²¹⁶ Liv. 3.25–3.28. ²¹⁷ See Stewart 1998 for discussion.

²¹⁸ Liv. 2.48; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.14–15.

²¹⁹ For example see Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis' raids against the Volsci in 485 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.85), Caeso Fabius' raid on the Aequians in 479 (Liv. 2.48–50), or indeed the famous case of the Fabii activity against Veii throughout the 470s (see Chapter 4).

²²⁰ See Holloway 2008:124 for discussion.

Despite their peripheral position, it is likely that the plebeians or proto-plebeian population did play a role in some of Rome's military actions in the early fifth century. The most direct indicators were the consistent plebeian boycott of Roman levies in the sources which, although probably embellished, may still retain a kernel of truth.²²¹ Perhaps more persuasive though is the wide range of indirect evidence which suggests that new elements were being included in Roman forces, the most notable of which is the sudden advent of problems with motivation and discipline within Roman armies.²²² Under a *gens*-based system, where there was both a long tradition of warfare and strong social and religious bonds linking each warrior to his leader, this type of discipline problem would be highly unlikely – or, if it did occur, would have likely remained a clan or family matter. However, if Roman armies were beginning to incorporate plebs, or members of the community outside of the traditional *gens*-based military framework, then this type of behavior starts to make more sense. At the most basic level it may suggest that individuals who were not used to participating in military actions were now doing so, but it may also indicate something a bit more fundamental – perhaps that the bond of *imperium* which linked these two groups together was weakening, as one or both sides were not fulfilling their supposed duties within the relationship, or indeed that the entire institution was evolving as a result of the new federated format.

Although the use of plebs as an identifiable group in Rome's military forces, if that did in fact occur, would have likely represented a significant change in how the community and the army interacted, the evidence suggests that this involvement would have been limited to emergency situations and periods of prolonged warfare during this period. Looking carefully at the record of both Roman warfare and Roman political troubles, it was only in the years between 495 and 488, when Rome was at war every year and often with multiple enemies, that the city began to experience trouble from the plebs.²²³ The same situation occurred between 482 and 480, and between 463 and 457.²²⁴ The early phases of the Struggle of the Orders, and particularly military boycotts, only seem to have flared up when Rome was placed under significant military stress, suggesting these two factors were linked.²²⁵ It is entirely possible that Rome's military need in these times gave the plebeian population the power to push their agenda, although the fact that the threat of inaction would have hurt them

²²¹ See above n. 200.

²²² See particularly Liv. 2.32.

²²³ See above for references.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Armstrong 2008.

as well as the patricians makes this somewhat unlikely. The more plausible conclusion is that the gentilicial elite (patricians) and their associated followers (the archaic *populus*), which together embodied both Rome's tribal army and her hypothesized *gens*-based forces, still represented the core of Rome's military forces during the early fifth century. The plebeian population which was incorporated into the *populus* to varying degrees, presumably via the grant of *imperium* and on an *ad hoc* basis, was therefore left feeling exploited in these instances.

The integration of the plebeians, even on an emergency basis, represented a shift from the previous gentilicial model toward an increasingly community-centered military force. Although it still evidently utilized the archaic bond of *imperium* and the traditional associated methods of control, the increasing use of plebeians to bolster Rome's forces in emergencies seems to have changed both the nature of military service and the balance of power within the relationship. Increasingly in Rome, military service involved protecting land and engaging in regional warfare with little or no immediate gain for the soldiers involved. Additionally, as the protestations of the plebeians made evident, the existing structure and mechanisms for inclusion were not to everyone's liking. The bonds which traditionally bound warriors to their leader in the archaic clan-based warband, which featured strong social, religious, and economic factors, did not seem to transfer well to the more transient and *ad hoc* arrangement which the early Republic represented. While a member of the community might willingly put himself under the effective *patria potestas* of a clan leader, as a true *cliens* or through *imperium*, it seems that members of the community did not like being forced into this position – particularly without the promise of immediate gain and with no real protection against abuse. So the archaic command structure attempted to hold on in the face of a changing Roman society and approach to warfare.

This new, increasingly community-centered approach to Roman warfare is also evident in the changing aims and objectives of Roman conflict. During the sixth century, Roman and Latin warfare was based primarily around the goals of securing gentilicial power and acquiring personal wealth. This trend clearly continued into the early fifth century, with Latin warfare continuing to be dominated by raiding. However, the period also witnessed a gradual transition in Rome's military objectives, with warfare increasingly being used to benefit the community as a whole. This new set of objectives is best exemplified by the acquisition of land in recently conquered areas, which represented a revolution in the Roman understanding of both the purpose of warfare and the nature of booty. As

noted above, this practice of acquiring land began in 495, with the confiscation of the land of Pometia. However, the sources are unclear about what happened to the land subsequently and whether it became communal land (i.e. *ager publicus*) or remained with the senate or those who had actually captured.²²⁶ The conflict over the land of the Hernici in 486 marked a turning point in the acquisition and distribution of land at Rome. As part of a treaty with the Hernici, the senate acquired two-thirds of their land, which, it was proposed, would be distributed to the community (specifically the plebeians) and to the Latins.²²⁷ This distribution caused a conflict within the senate because Cassius, the consul who proposed the measure, was accused of vying for royal power.²²⁸ The nature of this debate immediately calls to mind the political struggles in the late Republic over agrarian laws, and it is likely that a large portion of the narrative relating to this conflict represented anachronistic glossing.²²⁹ However, the basic principle of land acquisition for the benefit of the community, or at least a portion of the community (most notably the soldiers who had helped acquire it), seems to have been authentic, and is supported by a string of other agrarian legislations which have been attributed to subsequent years. However, as Cornell has argued, the acquisition and distribution of land as a result of warfare presented a problem if considered as a part of the archaic way of war, because to divide a single tract of land into separate allotments belonging to various different groups, and often different communities, would have been extremely complicated and impractical.²³⁰ As a result, some form of colonization or an early form of *ager publicus* may have played a significant role in the distribution of this new type of booty – although, as Roselaar has argued, given Rome's limited territorial conquests in the fifth century, a fully developed form of *ager publicus* was likely a product of a later period.²³¹ However the fact that land was utilized at all is still worth noting in this context. The land in question was acquired through successful warfare and the active role which the consul, Cassius, played in distributing the land – which was apparently perceived as pandering to the plebs – may simply represent his perception that the land should have been treated as *manubiae*. So while an early version of colonization may have helped reconcile this new approach to wealth with the archaic model of warfare,²³² the

²²⁶ Liv. 2.25. ²²⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.69; Liv. 2.41. ²²⁸ Liv. 2.41.

²²⁹ See Roselaar 2008 for discussion.

²³⁰ Cornell may be overstating the issue by saying it was “unthinkable” (Cornell 1995b: 301).

²³¹ Roselaar 2008. ²³² See Chapter 5 for issues with early Roman colonization.

acquisition of land at all demonstrated a shift in the understanding of booty in Rome.²³³

The early Republic also saw the construction of a new series of fortifications which may indicate increased community involvement in warfare. Although the new constructions did not rival the scale of Rome's later fourth-century constructions, the so-called Servian Walls, there was a strengthening or repair of the original *agger* which likely dates to the middle of the fifth century.²³⁴ During this strengthening, the height of the *agger* was raised by c. 1 m and it was widened to c. 35 m at the base.²³⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that either the original *agger*, or the strengthened one, were reinforced or revetted by stone, except possibly at the gates. However, as at Ardea, Gjerstad postulated that there may have been a wooden palisade situated on the top.²³⁶ This renewed interest in fortification building can be seen throughout Latium. The settlement at Antium also featured fortifications of the *agger* and *fossa* type dating to this period, although the *agger* was reinforced in areas with tufo blocks, possibly as a sort of retaining wall to prevent earth-slip.²³⁷ Once again used in conjunction with the site's natural defenses, these fortifications have been dated to the fifth century by ceramic evidence and roughly mirror those found at Ardea in terms of size and scale.²³⁸ The site of Satricum also used *agger* and *fossa* fortifications in the period, although all but the most basic remnants of these have been destroyed by modern agricultural work in the area.²³⁹

The structure of the early Republic: a revised model

As with archaic Roman society, the political structure of the early Republic seems to have continued to exist on two distinct, but connected, planes.²⁴⁰ On the top level was the senate, made up of

²³³ It should be noted that *ager publicus*, although theoretically public, was still evidently controlled by the aristocracy and therefore those who had conquered it, as seen by the myriad of plebeian attempts at land redistribution in the fifth century (Cornell 1995b: 268–271).

²³⁴ Gjerstad 1966: 354. ²³⁵ *Ibid.*: 356. ²³⁶ *Ibid.*: 356.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*: 497 and Gnade and Rubini 2002: 74–76.

²³⁸ See Crescenzi 1983 for an overview of the ancient site of Ardea.

²³⁹ The site of Satricum is problematic during the early fifth century, as it experienced a radical change in its pattern of occupation which may have been the result of an influx of Volsci into the settlement (see Gnade and Rubini 2002 for a detailed description of the archaeological remains and discussion of this hypothesis).

²⁴⁰ Cornell argued that this dualistic model of Roman society is “crudely oversimplified” (Cornell 1983: 102), and, indeed, the rigid patrician–plebeian dichotomy emphasized by the literary sources was likely to have been a late republican anachronism. However, it is clear that population of Rome was divided during the archaic and early republican periods, both socially and politically, and while this

Rome's clan-based elite which, although somewhat amorphous and likely quite fluid, seems to have maintained a largely discrete identity within Rome's larger social and political environment, which reflected their recently settled nature and extramural focus. The clans which supported these elite, along with their associated *clientes* (another admittedly problematic, amorphous, and likely fluid group which will be discussed later in detail), likely made up the majority of the *populus* or *classis* of the proto-centuriate assembly, which was led by the *praetores*, the direct descendants of Rome's archaic *rex*, in what seems to be a power-sharing arrangement. In this system, the duties and rights of the *rex* were maintained by the gentilicial elite, albeit in a highly fragmented and federated form, and this group linked itself to the broader community via the same bond of *imperium*. Beneath this gentilicial state was the urban community, which continued to act politically through the *curiae* and the curiate assembly, and which gradually gained an increasingly vocal advocate through the office of the tribune of the plebs in the early fifth century. These two "states" or structures seem to have overlapped through the *populus*, which represented the followers of the *praetores* and therefore the archaic army. The core of this group was likely made up of the traditional followers of a given clan leader, including the members of his *gens* and long-term *clientes*, although the power of *imperium* seems to have allowed him to include members of the community at large into this group as well. But while the Roman *rex* and the urban community seem to have been able to coexist in relatively harmony during the regal period, the growing size (and power) of the urban population, coupled with the fragmented nature of Rome's evolving gentilicial aristocracy resulted in a series of tensions between the two groups, which were exacerbated by Rome's increased military needs during the fifth century.

The praetorship

After the removal of Tarquinius Superbus in 509, the Roman *rex* was supplanted at the head of Rome's military and political systems by the praetorship.²⁴¹ As noted, the word *praetor* simply meant "leader" (possibly

division may not have been as rigid as in later periods, it is something which cannot be written out of the sources.

²⁴¹ Stewart argued that the language suggests that there was no initial distinction between "consuls" and *praetores*, and that this distinction only appears in the first century. Further, all three colleagues, after 367 at least, seem to have been identified as *praetor* in the precise language of Roman religion (see particularly Festus 152L), and the term *praetor* was traditionally used to designate the highest-

derived from *praeire*, “to precede,” or *praeesse*, “to be preeminent”), and the office seems to have co-opted the military and foreign policy duties of the *rex*.²⁴² Except for its collegiality (which may have featured a vague hierarchy with a *praetor maximus*)²⁴³ and short duration, the office is likely to have represented a close approximation of the military facet of the office of the Roman *rex* in every respect.²⁴⁴ Holders of the praetorship in the years from 509 to 452 were all members of a relatively select group of powerful, aristocratic *gentes*, just like the *reges* before them.²⁴⁵ Although, during the late Republic, the consuls (the name adopted for the reinvented praetorship during the early fourth century)²⁴⁶ were elected in the centuriate assembly, the continued ambiguity surrounding the presence of this institution during the early Republic means that it is entirely uncertain how the magistrates were chosen. Indeed, it is possible that the continued granting or confirming of *imperium* by a *lex curiata* indicated that the earliest incarnations of this office were still elected by the curiate assembly in a

ranking public official, all hinting that the city’s early highest-ranking officials (i.e. the early consuls) were known by this term (Stewart 1998: 112–114).

²⁴² OLD: s.v. praetor. See also Drogula 2015: 20. Brennan argued that the early *praetores* seem to have become “symbols of the city” (Brennan 2000: 18–20), thus maintaining the traditional role of the *rex*. The religious duties of the *rex* seem to have been co-opted by the *rex sacrorum*. Ogilvie’s argument that the early *praetores*/consuls represented an entirely different type of office which did not have the same *imperium* as the *rex* (Ogilvie 1965: 235) is unconvincing.

²⁴³ See Heurgon 1967: 97–132 and Brennan 2000: 20–23. The evidence for the early *praetor maximus* is scanty, consisting of *lex Vetusta* cited by Livy (Liv. 7.3) and a note of Festus (152 L.), and there is still no consensus on the matter. Mommsen argued in his *Römisches Staatsrecht* that the title *praetor maximus* simply designated the highest-ranking magistrate, and so could have applied to a consul but usually only applied to a dictator, while others have argued it was a sort of annually elected dictator, while yet others (most notably Heuss) argued that the office never existed. The general consensus, however, is that it represented the highest-ranking praetor out of a college, although whether this was an official or de facto ranking is entirely unclear.

²⁴⁴ This can be seen specifically in the *praetores*’ adoption of the *fascēs* as one of the symbols of office (for the *fascēs* as regal *signia* of office see Liv. 1.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.29, 3.61–62; Cic. *Rep.* 2.31; for its adoption by the early *praetores*/consuls see Staveley 1956 and Ogilvie 1965: 235). However, Ogilvie has argued that Livy was incorrect in claiming that the *praetores*/consuls acquired *omnia iura, omnia insignia* of the *reges* (Liv. 2.1), as they did not acquire the *regia ornamenta*, which was only worn by *triumphatores* as servants of Jupiter, once again illustrating the division between religion and warfare in post-509 Rome (*ibid.*: 235). The collegiality of the office, suggested by the early *Fasti*, the tradition of collegial magistracies, and the character of early republican warfare, was likely to have been one of the fundamental characteristics of the office (indeed, the desire to replace the single *rex* with a federal, power-sharing system seems to have been one of the driving forces in the creation of the Republic). The exact number of *praetores* is, however, still up for debate. While it is possible that there were typically two, mirroring the later consulship, it is also possible that there were more, possibly providing an explanation for the entries in the *Fasti* when more than two figures are named for a given year (see Cornell 1995b: 218–222 for discussion).

²⁴⁵ The supposedly plebeian names from the early *Fasti* (Cornell 1995b: 252–256) were likely to have been part of powerful aristocratic families during the early fifth century, whatever the later affiliation of their families.

²⁴⁶ See Stewart 1998: 112–114. See also Chapter 5.

similar fashion to the *reges*.²⁴⁷ However, even if the *rex* was elected by the *curiae*, it was clearly not an open election. Although the narrative is obviously problematic for the entirety of the regal period, all of the evidence (and common sense) seems to indicate that the *comitia curiata* merely confirmed the position of the *rex*, often after it was acquired by force, rather than granted it freely.²⁴⁸ Indeed, the *curiae* seemed to have had very little overt influence over the gentilicial state, although arguments can be made that the *lictors*, which were associated with the *curiae*, did represent the continued support and authority of *curiae* for the *reges* and *praetores* during their term in office. Either way, the literature suggests that despite the possible election or confirmation by the *curiae*, the duties of the praetorship remained largely within the sphere of influence of the early senate made up on the gentilicial elite and it is likely that the senate played a significant role in their selection.²⁴⁹ Intriguingly though, given the overlap between the senate and the centuriate assembly in this period, although the assembly likely did not yet exist in its full, fourth-century form, if the *praetores* were selected by the senate they would likely have also represented the *de facto* choice a proto-centuriate assembly, along the lines of the truncated model proposed by Momigliano and Cornell, whereby the wealthy elite simply chose leaders from among themselves.

Although it is possible that the power-sharing arrangement, which the new Republic seemed to embody, allowed the *praetores* to command armies which contained members of various different *gentes*, it is likely that each praetor's individual *gens* formed the core of their military forces.²⁵⁰ This can arguably be seen in the account of the Fabian *gens* conducting its independent war against Veii in the 470s. While this evidence is clearly an indication of *gens*-based warfare, an often overlooked aspect of the narrative is that Caeso Fabius was a sitting *praetor* /consul in the year in which the war was declared. In effect, this made the Fabian *gens* a “consular

²⁴⁷ See, for instance, Magdelain 1990, who suggested that the *lex curiata* “defined” the magistrates. See Smith 2006: 217–223 for a discussion of the various conflicting opinions on the matter.

²⁴⁸ Confirmation of the early *praetor* by the curiate assembly is the most likely option because, given the structure of early Roman society, it is unlikely that the *populus* had such a significant impact on the choice of military leaders.

²⁴⁹ Either through the use of allotment, or designation, the senate (patrician council) seems to have had a monopoly on determining the duties of the early *praetores*. See Stewart 1998: 23 for discussion.

²⁵⁰ The role of the senate in dividing up military commands, at least during the middle Republic, hints at a federal organization of the elites. However, the decidedly individualistic behavior exhibited by many early *praetores* (see above) indicates that this was still a very loose federation.

army.”²⁵¹ Although Rome’s late republican historians would have undoubtedly found this unusual, it was not actually the primary issue in the narrative because the senate seems to have been most concerned with the assigning of the war against Veii to the Fabii, without the use of an allotment.²⁵² The argument can be made for other instances as well, however, as it is common to have family members fighting alongside each other in early battles, and even as late as the early third century there seem to have been gentilicial and tribal units within Roman armies.²⁵³ Further, at the times when plebeians were included in the armies of the early *praetores*, the literary sources indicated that these new soldiers essentially augmented the personal forces of the clan leader/warlord, taking an oath directly to the *praetor*, and not to the city or community.²⁵⁴

The power of the praetorship therefore represents something of a conundrum in the early period. Holding the office seems to have given clan leaders the theoretical ability to recruit from within the community to fill out the ranks of their existing gentilicial forces, but in reality the pool of potential recruits may have often been limited by preexisting connections to other *gentes* and clan leaders. While it is possible that members or *clientes* of *gentes* would have served under rival gentilicial leaders on a regular basis, several factors suggest that this was not the case – including the nature of *imperium* in the military sphere (which put the *praetor* in the effective position of a *paterfamilias*), the personal aims and motivations of warfare in this period, and also magistracies like the *magister populi*, which will be discussed in the [next section](#). The effective pool of recruits for Rome’s early *praetores* was instead likely made up of the previously unattached members of the *populus/classis* within the community. That growing segment of the population was made up of wealthy inhabitants of Rome who could afford their own military equipment and who wanted the opportunity to go out and fight in hopes of achieving some sort of (likely economic) benefit, but who were not already part of an existing clan structure which allowed this. Members of this group were likely part of the curiate system and may have identified with the emerging “plebeian” element in a civilian context, although they could also temporarily become part of a *gens*, through the

²⁵¹ The inherent unreliability of the early *Fasti* makes this attribution slightly problematic; however, given that the Fabii controlled at least one of the praetorships every year back to 486 (see *MRR*), it is likely that at least one of the Fabii was a *praetor*/consul in the year that war was declared.

²⁵² See Stewart 1998: 12–51 for the importance of the allotment as both an institutional and religious feature in early Roman politics.

²⁵³ Oakley 1985: 392–410. ²⁵⁴ See, most notably, Liv. 2.32.

medium of *imperium*, and so become a member of the *populus* in a military context.

The magister populi and magister equitum

Perhaps one of the more interesting developments in the early years of the Republic, which sheds an immense amount of light on the dynamics of military command in Rome, was the creation of the dictatorship. Within ten years of the founding of the Republic, the Romans appointed a special, emergency magistrate, the *magister populi*, or dictator.²⁵⁵ Subordinate to this magistracy was the *magister equitum*, or master of the horse, who served as the dictator's assistant. The ancient sources were unanimous in claiming that the office was created to deal with military emergencies.²⁵⁶ Given the military character of the magistracy and the fragmented nature of both early Roman military commands and early Roman military forces, this explanation is entirely plausible. The dictator was able to convene and preside over the curiate assembly and pass his own *lex de imperio*, indicating that the office was similar to that of the early praetorship in at least that regard.²⁵⁷ However, it is evident that the dictator was perceived to be a much more effective military leader.²⁵⁸ A wide range of hypotheses have been advanced to explain this increased efficacy, ranging from the simple advantage of having one military commander instead of two (or more), to more nuanced analyses of the dictator's power.

One of the most prominent arguments in modern scholarship relates to the nature of the dictator's *imperium*.²⁵⁹ When a dictator was appointed, the *praetores* remained in office, presumably retaining their *imperium*, but under the power of the dictator. This led to the hypothesis, espoused initially by Livy, that the *imperium* of the dictator was greater (*maius*)

²⁵⁵ See Brennan 2000: 38–43 for a detailed discussion of this magistracy.

²⁵⁶ Liv. 2.18; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 6.2–6.22. Cf. Fab. Pict. fr. 16 (Peter 1914); Piso fr. 21 (Peter 1914); Cic. ND 2.6; 3.11; Val. Max. 1.8; Plin. NH 33.38; Frontin. Str. 1.11.8; Plut. Cor. 3; Flor. 1.5.2; Auct. Vir. Ill. 16. See Cohen 1957 for discussion.

²⁵⁷ Liv. 9.38. See also Brennan 2000: 38.

²⁵⁸ The emperor Claudius described the early office as *valentius*, or “more efficacious” (*ibid.*: 41).

²⁵⁹ It is possible that the *ius auspicia* was separate from *imperium*, following Nicholls' argument that the *auspicia* was not a part of the *lex curiata* (Nicholls 1967: 257–278). Indeed, the fact that the *auspicia* of the *praetores*/consuls was the *auspicia publica populi Romani* suggests that it was associated with the *populi* (i.e. the aristocratic population) and not the wider urban, plebeian population, making its connection with the curiate assembly ambiguous. This is further supported by the explicit granting of *auspicia* to the *censores* in the centuriate assembly, rather than the curiate assembly (see Staveley 1956 for an alternative position, where he argued that this was merely a “mistake” within Rome's political-religious structure).

than that of the *praetores*.²⁶⁰ However, Brennan convincingly argued that this differentiation of *imperium* represented an anachronistic interpretation of the evidence, and that it is unlikely that the dictator possessed anything qualitatively greater than consular *imperium*.²⁶¹ Indeed, early *imperium*, as governed by the *lex curiata*, seems to have represented little more than a specific type of social contract between the urban population and local warlords. Thus the armies fielded by the early *praetores* were constructed largely around their own *gentes* and followers and were based on a clan-based power dynamic, while the vast majority of the community remained uninvolved in the warfare that was being waged around them.

The primary difference between these two magistracies, at least during the early fifth century, is related to their position with regard to the aristocracy. While the *praetores* seem to have utilized only small, associated groups of warriors, the title of the dictator (*magister populi*) indicated that military forces may have included the entirety of the early *populus Romanus* (i.e. the Roman aristocratic *gentes* and their followers), although not necessarily the entirety of Rome's population. This would have meant a massive increase in the manpower available to the dictator, as he could now mobilize rival *gentes* as well as the unattached members of the *classis*, and so the office may have represented the ultimate power-sharing arrangement among the city's elite clans. However, despite his increased inclusiveness, the dictatorship may not have been any more of a community-based magistracy than those his early colleagues. The dictator was appointed by the senate and *praetores*, and likely unified those aspects of the community under his command, but the magistracy seems to have only interacted with the broader community in the same ways as his consular colleagues, that is, via *imperium* and through the *comitia curiata*.

The "plebeian alternative state"

Beneath Rome's gentilicial Republic existed the broader urban community, which seems to have contained its own political institutions and structures during the early fifth century, which long ago gave rise to the idea of a "plebeian(s) alternate state" during this period. This urban structure was concerned primarily with the internal functioning of the community, as opposed to foreign policy or warfare. As noted above, it is likely that Rome's archaic *curiae* and the curiate assembly represented the core of this archaic urban community, and as such formed the basis for the

²⁶⁰ Liv. 4.41. See also Ehrenberg 1953, Staveley 1963, and O'Neal 1979.

²⁶¹ Brennan 2000: 39.

so-called plebeian alternative state which was most evident in the early years of the fifth century.

The exact structure and duties of the archaic urban state have long since been lost, although certain aspects of the *curiae*, as they existed in the late Republic and Empire, hint at some basic functions. Aulus Gellius provides the most important passage for the political functions of the *curiae*. Citing Labeo in Laelius Felix's commentary on a book by Q. Mucius Scaevola, he claimed that the *curiae* met in two different assemblies, the *calata comitia curiata* and the *comitia curiata*, which seem to have been differentiated by both presidency and purpose.²⁶² Generally, however, the *curiae* were summoned for issues relating to inheritance, inaugurations, adoption, *adrogatio*, and *transitio ad plebem*, and perhaps the most important, the passing of the *lex curiata*, which conferred or confirmed *imperium*.²⁶³ As a result, although it is likely that many of these functions represented mid/late republican developments, the evidence suggests that the early *curiae* were largely concerned with regulating the internal relationships of Rome's population, and confirming the relationship between the urban community and the regional military power (be it a *rex* or the Republic's aristocratic federation in the form of the *praetores*). As a result, it is perhaps unwise to dub this plebeian state as "alternative" at all, as its *comitia* represented not only a key legitimating aspect of the aristocratic state of the *reges* and *praetores* but also the main assembly for the urban community.²⁶⁴

Although the *curiae* seem to have represented the archaic core of Rome's urban political structure, this set of institutions was quickly surpassed in importance, at least in the literary tradition, by the figure of the tribune. As suggested earlier, it is likely that the earliest tribunes were elected in the curiate assembly, and that it was only later, with the Publilian law of 471, that this was moved to the tribal assembly.²⁶⁵ Consequently, the tribunate seems to have represented, at least initially, a magistracy within the curiate-based political system alongside the *curiones* and *curio maximus*.²⁶⁶ It is therefore unlikely that the first tribunate came into being in the year 494, as the literary sources suggest,²⁶⁷ and indeed earlier references to various types

²⁶² Gell. *NA* 15.27. See Smith 2006: 210–217 for discussion.

²⁶³ See *ibid.*: 210–223 for both discussion and bibliography.

²⁶⁴ The view of the plebeian state as "alternative" is likely a product of the aristocratic bias of the sources for early Rome.

²⁶⁵ The link between the archaic curiate assembly and the *comitia tributa* is tenuous at best, with very little direct evidence in support (perhaps the most notable being this purported transition concerning the election of the tribunes).

²⁶⁶ Palmer 1970: 81–83, 274–276. ²⁶⁷ Liv. 2.33; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.70–89.

of tribune support this interpretation.²⁶⁸ Rather, it is likely that the office represented a previously existing magistracy in Rome's urban community, which assumed a heightened status in the sources during the early fifth century, as it became the primary means of interaction between the urban or proto-plebeian population and the city's gentilicial elite. The reasons behind the creation or repurposing of the office of tribune are not entirely clear, but it may have been a result of the *curiones* often coming from the gentilicial elite themselves, and indeed this seems to have been a requirement of the *curio maximus*, making them ill-suited to this role.²⁶⁹ But while this tribunate may have existed previously in Rome, it is unlikely that it existed in the exact same form. Parallel magistracies among the Volsci and Samnites (i.e. those imbued with power through a *lex sacrata*) seem to have been elected only in times of need, suggesting that the tribune, as created in the early fifth century, may have been created in response to a perceived threat.²⁷⁰ As the primary powers of the early tribune seem have been related to *auxilium* and the protection of the urban population from aristocratic abuse, this perceived threat is likely to have been predation by Rome's new, increasingly sedentary, gentilicial elite.

While the tribunes may have increasingly represented the primary means of interaction between the urban community and the gentilicial state, the overwhelming verdict of the literary sources was that warfare was often the cause of this contact. Indeed, the office of the tribune was most commonly mentioned in the period between 494 and 451 in relation to efforts by the aristocracy to recruit members of the plebeian community into military service. This type of interaction occurred with startling regularity, with instances being recorded in 488,²⁷¹ 482,²⁷² 480,²⁷³ 474,²⁷⁴ 473,²⁷⁵ 471,²⁷⁶ 461,²⁷⁷ 460,²⁷⁸ 459,²⁷⁹ 458,²⁸⁰ and 457.²⁸¹ Additionally, the tribunes also raised concerns regarding the division of spoils on two separate occasions.²⁸² Indeed, the supposed foundation of the office in 494 occurred as a result of aristocratic efforts to recruit men for the defense of the city in the face of a threat by the Volsci.²⁸³ Accordingly, it seems as if the tribune's primary purpose within Rome's evolving urban/aristocratic relationship was regulating the community's involvement in warfare, which was typically presented in terms of defense rather than aggression.

²⁶⁸ See Chapter 5. There may have been a wide range of tribune types as well. For instance, Brutus is recorded as being the *tribunus Celerum*, or the leader of the Celeres (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.84).

²⁶⁹ Liv. 27.8. See Palmer 1970: 207 for discussion.

²⁷⁰ See Cornell 1995b: 259–260 for discussion. ²⁷¹ Liv. 2.39. ²⁷² *Ibid.* 2.43. ²⁷³ *Ibid.* 2.44.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 2.54. ²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 2.55. ²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 2.59. ²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 3.11. ²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 3.15–21.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 3.22. ²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 3.25–26. ²⁸¹ *Ibid.* 3.29. ²⁸² *Ibid.* 3.1, 3.10. ²⁸³ *Ibid.* 2.32–33.

Given the stated situation, this makes some sense. While members of the plebeians may have been happy to join up with various *gentes* and put themselves under the power of a *praetor* on their own terms, likely with the incentive of immediate economic gain from raiding, members of the community may not have been excited by the prospect of being forced into this arrangement, even in defense of the community. Further, with the settling down of the region's *gentes* in the hinterland of Rome and other communities, it is likely that what the "defense of the community" meant was increasingly ambiguous in this period. Although all of Latium, and indeed central Italy, likely experienced an increase in warfare due to the migrations of tribal peoples from the mountainous interior, it is likely that this military pressure was experienced most keenly by the *gentes* who now occupied the hinterland. When an attack occurred, it would most likely pass through gentilicial territory before reaching, if it ever did, the urban center. As a result, the broader community of Rome (the plebeians), which was not necessarily associated with a *gens*, may have felt that they were being mobilized for *gens*-based interests and that the gentilicial aristocracy (the patricians) were abusing the power of *imperium*. The tribunes of the plebs were arguably created to defend against this type of abuse. The tribunes were only mentioned outside of military contexts in a limited number of contexts, with the most common being the trial of various patrician elites (including Coriolanus,²⁸⁴ Titus Menenius,²⁸⁵ Appius Claudius,²⁸⁶ Caeso Quinctius,²⁸⁷ and the colleagues Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius²⁸⁸). Additionally, tribunes were mentioned, perhaps unsurprisingly, in association with two land reform laws (although the second reference could also be classified as division of spoils),²⁸⁹ when their election was shifted to the *comitia tributa*,²⁹⁰ and when inveighing against the authority of the *praetores*.²⁹¹

Although it may be possible to suggest that the plebeians "emerged" as a distinct socio-political group during the early fifth century, this is likely to be misrepresenting the situation.²⁹² Instead, it would be better to declare that in the early years of the fifth century, the existing urban political structure of Rome began to realign itself in opposition to Rome's new gentilicial regime, specifically as a result of increasing elite interaction with the community which came about primarily as a result of military pressure. However, the mechanisms and institutions which made up this "plebeian

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 2.34. ²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 2.52. ²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 2.57–58, 61. ²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 3.13. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 3.31.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 2.42, 3.1. ²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 2.56. ²⁹¹ *Ibid.* 3.9. ²⁹² See, for instance, Cornell 1983.

state” were hardly new, and were likely to have had their origins in the seventh and sixth centuries.

Conclusions

Despite the dramatic changes which occurred in the final years of the sixth century, Rome’s early Republic experienced a strong sense of continuity with the regal way of war. Indeed, the early years of the period were marked by the continued presence of aristocratic, *gens*-based warbands and raiding for portable wealth. However, changes in the social and economic framework of Latium had a dramatic impact on the nature of warfare in the region. The decline of trade and possible shifts in agricultural practice led to the increased importance of land in the Latin economy. This in turn may have catalyzed the existing trends for both the “settling” of Latium’s previously mobile clans and an increased integration between the gentilicial elite and their communities.

It is likely that the socio-political framework in Rome in the first half of the fifth century started off as a reasonably heterogeneous and haphazard system, made up of the still evolving federation of elite clans and an increasingly powerful urban core, which was slowly regularized. During the course of the century, as the previously mobile *gentes* settled, this once fluid government and the gentilicial elite it was based on became more formalized, a point marked by the “closing” of the patriciate in Rome in the second half of the fifth century. Coinciding with, and undoubtedly connected with, the latter process was the rise of a “plebeian” identity in Rome. Although it is perhaps a misnomer to dub this group an “alternative state” since it utilized the same social and political framework as Rome’s early urban and proto-urban communities and seems to have been fully integrated with the elite government via the *comitia curiata*, it seems to have developed a distinct identity during this period, and existed in increasing opposition to the new clan-based state centered around the increasingly stable senate.

The standard army of the Latium’s communities was one still composed largely of various individual *gentes* and their followers. These were now united by their increasingly permanent association with their communities, although they still maintained their individual character and were evidently able to perform independent military operations, as seen in the case of the Fabii and others. The changing economy of Latium, coupled with the immigration of new tribes and peoples into the region, seems to have resulted in an upsurge in warfare, as raiding continued alongside the

protection and conquest of land.²⁹³ Consequently, the *gens*-based forces of Rome and the *praetores* may have become increasingly overwhelmed as they struggled to defend their newly settled land from foreign incursions. Such attacks on Roman territory arguably affected the entire community, and not only the local gentilicial elite and their followers based in the outlying regions, although the degree to which this was true evidently varied quite a bit given the reaction of the urban population to various military actions. However, increasingly members of the community, who had hitherto existed outside of the political and military system, seem to have been incorporated into Rome's military forces, largely on an *ad hoc* basis. These new, part-time soldiers came at least in part from the segment of the population which would eventually become known as the plebs, and seem to have existed in opposition to the gentilicial elite, the patricians, in a civilian context – although their relationship with, and possible inclusion in, the *populus* is problematic. As membership in the plebs and the *populus* seem to have been dependent on the socio-political relationship which existed between an individual and the gentilicial state, these groups were fluid, with the end result being the gradual subsuming of the *populus* into the plebs sometime during the late fifth or early fourth century – although the label still seems to have carried a distinct connotation.²⁹⁴ The result of this situation was that during the early fifth century Rome featured a mixed military model, where traditional gentilicial warbands and new community-centered forces co-existed. The *gens*-based forces were able to function and act independently of the community, but could also unite with portions of the local urban population to form larger forces in emergency situations.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ This is supported by both the archaeology of the region (Cornell 1995b: 304–305) and the literary evidence (Liv. 1.53; 1.55; 2.23; 2.26; 2.30; 2.32; 2.33; etc.). See also Armstrong 2008.

²⁹⁴ Cornell argued, convincingly, that the patrician/plebeian divisions did not reach their final form until after the Licinio-Sextian rogations of 367 (Cornell 1995b: 244, 333). See Raaflaub 2005a: xii for discussion.

²⁹⁵ This mixed military model had parallels in the ancient world. For instance, the continued importance of informal warbands, despite the emergence of a more formal military structure, was mirrored in archaic Greece. Herodotus recorded the continued presence of small bands of warriors acting independently of the state during the sixth century (Herodotus 5.69–72), and van Wees argued that the Athenian army during the archaic period was made up of a series of smaller, local warbands, united under a series of elected officials (van Wees 2004: 96–97). This interpretation is supported by a wide range of archaic Attic vase paintings which show a mounted hoplite going to war with a collection of less well-equipped followers and by the continued use of private warships in Greek warfare even as late as the Persian Wars. Additionally, the wealthy figure of Cimon was able to mobilize a private army of friends and followers as late as the middle of the fifth century (*ibid.*: 97, 100). Even the supposedly united phalanx was divided in terms of tribes and *phratries*.

The incorporation of the plebs (451–390)

Rome spent the first sixty years of the Republic in a state of constitutional limbo. The federation of gentilicial elites which took over from the *reges* created only a few new magistracies and were primarily concerned with adapting various archaic institutions for use in the new political situation – keeping the core power dynamics in place while allowing a power-sharing arrangement at the very top. As argued earlier, parallel to the government of the gentilicial elites a largely separate government seems to have existed for the urban population, or “plebeians” as they were increasingly known – a group which seem to have become identified largely in opposition to the elite “patrician” *gentes*, and which represented the descendants of the more heterogeneous proto-urban population in Rome. It was not until the period from 451 to c. 391 that Rome underwent a concerted effort at unifying these two systems into a single government and began the move toward a unified and fully inclusive society which integrated these two groups into the patrician-plebeian state which typified Rome during the middle and late Republic.¹

An overall decline in the amount of archaeological evidence available for this period, coupled with Rome’s emergence as an increasingly unique socio-political entity in Latium, means that much more emphasis must be placed on the literary sources. The result of this emphasis is a sequence of development which is more detailed and specific to Rome, but one which is also more prone to anachronistic bias. But while many of the details of this period remain problematic, the basic aspects of Rome’s development are still arguably clear within the annalistic records, as is the end result: the emergence of a unified polity and military system which utilized Rome’s non-*gens*-based population on more than an emergency basis.

Although the process of unification arguably began back in the eighth and seventh centuries, the advent of this particular phase of development can be

¹ See Ferenczy 1976: 45–72 for discussion.

associated with the establishment of the *decemviri* in 451. The establishment of the *decemviri* and the laws of *The Twelve Tables* seemed to represent the first step in the formalization of a relationship between the various entities in Rome, which continued with the Valerio-Horatian laws of 449. While *imperium* and the offices of the *rex* and the *praetores* had represented important points of intersection between the region's rural *gentes* and the urban population, the creation of a single law code (beyond the problematic *leges regiae*) which spelled out the accepted norms of behavior for all of the various groups within Rome represented the first significant step toward integration. The office of the military tribunate, which was also evidently created in 449, seems to have been part of this process, as was the creation of the enigmatic consular tribunate and, perhaps most obviously, the censorship during the late 440s. These measures, all taken in quick succession, represented a series of responses to a particular context and, when seen holistically, hint at an attempt to create a rather different Roman state. But despite what was evidently a conscious effort to develop a new social, political, and military system, the process was a gradual one as it likely did not have the full backing of all involved. Indeed, Rome vacillated between the archaic system, dominated by *gens*-based warbands, and the new military organization until 390 when the new unified system was finally adopted on a fulltime basis,² possibly as a result of the Gallic sack.³

The emergence of a unified state in Rome, and more importantly a unified army, played a major role in Rome's emergence as one of the dominant military powers in the region during this period. During the previous half-century Rome had fought a long-running series of "low-level" wars with various opponents,⁴ including the Volsci, the Sabines, the Aequi, and Veii. During the second half of the fifth century the level of warfare conducted by Rome remained relatively stable, and may have even diminished, while the sources seem to record that both military success and the long-term benefits of warfare increased.⁵ Between 451 and 391 Rome

² Brennan argued, largely unconvincingly, that the period of vacillation between the consulship and the consular tribunate should be seen as extending all the way to 367, when the consulship was reestablished as the dominate magistracy, even though no consuls were recorded for the years between 390 and 367 (Brennan 2000: 49).

³ The Gallic sack, although likely the subject of serious elaboration by later writers (see Chapter 6), still represented an extremely important event in Rome's early development and served as a catalyst for a wide variety of different measures, and particularly military reform.

⁴ These wars were represented as being quite significant in the literary sources, and even relatively "low-level" warfare may have had a significant impact on a small community.

⁵ See Cornell's arguments for Rome's increasing military success in the period after 450 (Cornell 1995b: 308–309).

was able to conquer several nearby communities, including the city's early rival Veii, and maintain a sufficient level of control to keep them from remerging as a threat; a phenomenon which had plagued Roman warfare during the early and mid fifth century.⁶ The present study will suggest that this new military strength was directly linked with Rome's increasing unity and the continued growth of Rome's community-based armies, which were in turn responsible for the decline of the *gens*-based warband as a viable social or military model in Latium. It was also associated with the gradual evolution of Roman colonization away from the archaic central Italian model and toward the more traditional Roman practice of using colonies to secure the community's position in Latium.

The period from 451 to 390 BC therefore represents a key period in Rome's early constitutional and military development. Focusing on the *decemviri* as a starting point for the process of state formation, along with the importance of the creation of the consular tribunate and the censorship in the official incorporation of the plebs into Rome's armed forces, the present chapter will chart Rome's various attempts to find a means of unification which suited everyone's needs. The gentilicial elite wanted to protect their growing land- and community-centered interests, while still continuing their centuries-old competition among each other for power and prestige. The community, and particularly the burgeoning population of unattached individuals and likely members of lesser *gentes*, also wanted to protect their economic interests while gaining the opportunity for advancement and increased political power. The tension between these groups and their interests, which were increasingly aligned as the century wore on, seems to have driven much of the military and political developments during this period. In addition, and largely in response to the changes in Rome's social, political, and economic context, the Roman way of war began to change significantly. This can be seen in the advent of the *stipendium militum* and its implications for the Roman approach to booty, and finally the impact of Rome's wars of conquest during the second half of the fifth century and the subsequent changes in Roman colonization.

State formation and the incorporation of the plebs

The dualist nature of the state, which also characterized Roman society in the sixth and early fifth centuries, was still very much in place in the middle

⁶ This shift may also have been due to Rome's increasing military focus on nucleated communities, as opposed to peoples organized by tribe.

decades of the fifth century. The upper levels of Roman society and the Roman state were dominated by a gentilicial elite which can increasingly be identified as the “patricians.” Although increasingly settled and stable, this local, clan-based aristocracy still operated using a system based largely on archaic values and family-based power dynamics and so utilized adapted regal institutions, which effectively co-opted the duties of the *rex* and focused on warfare, foreign policy, justice, and religion. The primary office in this system, the praetorship, was, like the *rex* before it, a community-based office because it relied on both the support of the overall settlement, expressed through *curiae* by means of *imperium*, and the tacit support of the other gentilicial leaders.⁷ Moreover, like the *rex*, the praetorship was an office which was highly individual in character, requiring a solid foundation of *gens*-based support.

Alongside this *gens*-based system existed an urban counterpart which increasingly identified with the emergent “plebeian” population in Rome.⁸ This plebeian system seems to have embraced everyone in the settlement who was not part of one of Rome’s elite clans (and possibly some who were, but who chose not to identify as such), and may have focused primarily on the more mundane issues confronting the urban community as a whole. It also increasingly found itself playing the role as protector of the urban population against exploitation by the gentilicial elite who, the literary sources suggest, had begun to use and abuse the community for their own gain.⁹ But while the plebeian system did wield a certain amount of power via the *comitia curiata*, which continued to pass the *lex curiata de imperio* each year, as a group they seem to have been at best marginalized during the actual election process, which had become a gentilicial monopoly.

⁷ See Brennan’s discussion of the early praetorship (Brennan 2000: 34–57).

⁸ The “plebeian” names on the early *Fasti*, which seem to contradict this parallel-government model, have always been problematic for scholars studying early Rome. While it is possible that the names (see Cornell 1995b: 253 for a complete list) represented early instances of “plebeian” involvement in the official Roman state, this is highly unlikely given the aristocratic nature of the early state and the relatively open nature of the patriciate during the early Republic, suggesting that if a “plebeian” had been able to attain the consulship, they may have, by definition, become “patrician.” Cornell offered two possible solutions (*ibid.*: 253), either of which represents a valid solution to the issue. The first is that the consuls in question were actually patrician, although their later descendants were plebeian, as it was possible for families or branches of families to become plebs (*transitio ad plebem*). Brunt and De Sanctis both argued for a variation of this solution, in which the early “plebeian” names represented families which were originally “patrician” but which fell from power, presumably prior to the closing of the patriciate (see Brunt 1971b). The second solution was that a name could be borne by both patricians and plebs (as it is generally accepted that many early clients took the names of their patrons, see Plut. *Marius* 5.4), and that the patrician branch of the family either died out or, perhaps more likely, simply left Rome as so many other aristocrats did during the sixth and fifth centuries.

⁹ See Lintott 1999: 121–128.

Additionally, at the start of the period in question the most vocal representatives of the community, the plebeian tribunes, had yet to be fully recognized by Rome's *gens*-based, or "patrician," state,¹⁰ although they were slowly growing in power as the urban community began to play an increasingly important role in lives of the aristocracy.¹¹ It is perhaps worth noting here the importance of the shift which supposedly occurred in 471, with the Publilian law and the transfer of the plebeian tribunes from the curiate to the tribal assembly. The developing nature of the *comitia tributa* in this period will be discussed in depth later, but the association between the tribal assembly and the plebeian population by the middle of the fifth century is noteworthy as it suggests that the plebeian tribunes were increasingly seen to be representing not just the urban community of the *curiae*, but also aspects of the wider population of Rome which included the rural *gentes*. Indeed, this period likely marked the advent of the increasingly unified patricio-plebeian aristocracy in Rome, which Münzer and Hölskeskamp identified, although it is likely that this did not become fully unified until after 390.¹² By the 450s, however, this gradual incorporation of the elite *gentes* into the community of Rome seems to have reached a critical mass, setting in motion a series of measures aimed at formalizing the relationships between the various segments of society and officially integrating the entire population in Rome into a single political and military unit.¹³

The introduction in 451 and 450 of the *decemviri*, who were selected to regularize Rome's law code, arguably represented the first step in the integration.¹⁴ The laws of *The Twelve Tables*, which the two sets of *decemviri* traditionally formulated, seem to have been almost entirely concerned with social and economic relationships.¹⁵ While it is likely that they were based on previously existing customs, the decision to

¹⁰ The *Lex Valeria* of 509, which arguably may suggest otherwise, is likely to be an anachronistic duplication of the Valerio-Horatian laws of 449 (Liv. 3.54–55).

¹¹ This lack of recognition can be seen in the dual introductions of tribune inviolability, once in 494 (*ibid.* 2.33) with the election of the first plebeian tribunes, and again in 449 (*ibid.* 3.59). For another aspect of the problematic origin and extent of plebeian powers (particularly over patricians) see Cicero's treatment of *provocatio* (Cic. De Rep. 2.53–54. See Dyck 1998 for discussion).

¹² Münzer 1999: 12–47; Hölskeskamp 1987: 62–113.

¹³ See Vliet's arguments for the swift development of the Roman state during the middle of the fifth century (Vliet 1990: 253). See also Ferenczy 1976, who argued that the period from 449 to the early fourth century marked the decline of the patrician state and the advent of the patricio-plebeian state.

¹⁴ Liv. 3.33. Claessen, among others, argued that the creation of legislation marked the advent of a mature state or, more directly, the creation of a "state" out of a "chiefdom" (Claessen and Skalnik 1978, 1981).

¹⁵ See Cornell 1995b: 272–276 for a discussion of the tradition for two sets of the *decemviri*, the first in 451 and the second in 450.

formalize these relationships in a concrete law code represented an important step in the creation of a unified patrician-plebeian community.¹⁶ *The Twelve Tables* effectively standardized the social and economic relationships between Rome's two dominant populations,¹⁷ the previously mobile clans and the urban population, and, a point arguably equally as important, between the various *gentes* themselves, laying out a single set of rules which applied to all within the *pomerium* of Rome.¹⁸ This was a necessary step, as until this time it is likely that each clan functioned based on its own set of rules governed by the power of the *paterfamilias*, who held the ultimate power in this sphere. Although there were likely some local rules (perhaps the *leges regiae*), along with regional norms, as hinted at by institutions like the Latin League and the regulations which surrounded its meetings, in a given interaction it would likely have been uncertain what behavior might be expected between two *gentes* or between a *gens* and an individual from Rome's urban population, thus requiring a certain degree of negotiation. The creation of a standardized and mutually agreed law code would remove this area of ambiguity and the possibility of abuse in a given set of interactions. So while *The Twelve Tables* seem to have had very little direct political or military impact, they laid the basic socio-economic groundwork for a unified Roman society and allowed later efforts at political and military integration.

The Twelve Tables were soon followed, in 449, by the passing of the Valerio-Horatian laws,¹⁹ which fully incorporated the patrician population into the community's political system through the vehicle of the *comitia tributa*, in effect legitimizing both the government of the urban community and its officials, the plebeian tribunes.²⁰ The tribal assembly also

¹⁶ See Crawford 1996 for a detailed analysis of *The Twelve Tables* as they have been reconstructed by modern scholars. See also Watson 1975 for a more general overview.

¹⁷ Crawford noted that while *The Twelve Tables* are predominantly concerned with interpersonal relationships, *Tabula VIII*, 14–15, *Tabula IX*, 1–2, and *Tabula X* did seem to regulate interactions between the individual and the community, although these instances do support the unifying socio-political character of the laws.

¹⁸ See Ferenczy 1976: 33–35 for a discussion of the unifying character of *The Twelve Tables*.

¹⁹ Liv. 3.55.

²⁰ The unification of the plebeian and patrician governments during the 440s is problematic, as it is entirely uncertain where the original legitimacy in governance lay (i.e. with the previously existing patrician or plebeian governments) and therefore which group was incorporated into which group. Although the dominant government in Rome, prior to 450, was clearly the patrician government (based on the office of the *praetor*, see Chapter 4), it seemed to have undergone only minimal integration after 450, with the likely incorporation of plebeians into the senate marking the only significant integrative move (i.e. the *conscripti*; see Momigliano 1967 and Momigliano 1969a for discussion of the distinction between *patres* and *conscripti*), although even this may have been largely symbolic and may not have had direct political repercussions. The praetorship, the most prominent

recognized the increasingly settled rural clans and offered each a voice alongside the urban community in a new political body. The close relationship which existed between the tribal and centuriate assemblies in this period hints at their high level of overlap, although the gentilicial breakdown of the *comitia tributa* provided a slightly different mechanism and bias for decisions. For military purposes, the largest constitutional change was the creation of the offices of the military tribune in 449 and then the consular tribunate in 444. These altered Rome's previously existing command structure and offer some tantalizing clues about the changing composition of Rome's military forces. Linked with these changes was the creation of the office of the censorship in 443. This office was concerned, first and foremost, with the organization and categorization of Rome's population and thus played a substantial role in the creation of a new, more fully "Roman" army.

Military tribunes and the consular tribunate

The offices of military tribune and consular tribune, which were reportedly created in the middle of the fifth century, are perhaps the most enigmatic of all of Rome's early magistracies. Even the title "tribune" is ambiguous. The word seems to be derived from *tribus*, or tribe, and various sources record that each of Rome's three archaic tribes was headed by one of these figures during the regal period.²¹ Livy also records that Brutus was a "tribune of the Celeres" (*tribunum celerum*) in 510, although this may simply indicate that Livy knew the Celeres were supposed to be led by an official named "tribune" at some point in their history.²² Dionysius, when recording the same incident, naturally does not use the word tribune but refers to Brutus as "archon of the Celeres" (Κελερίων ἄρχων).²³ Both, however, note the title when referring to Brutus' ability to convene the city's assembly as part of the removal of Tarquinius Superbus, so it is clear

aspect of the patrician government, remained an entirely patrician preserve until its reinvention in 367 as the consulship. The only area where significant integration between the patricians and plebeian took place was in the *comitia tributa*, which was originally a plebeian institution (as it elected the plebeian tribunes). This body may have been originally based on three (archaic) or four (Servian) original urban tribes, but gradually incorporated a series of rural tribes during the fifth century which bore the names of various *gentes*, indicating their patrician origins (see Taylor 1960 and Smith 2006: 236–250). Although these varying levels of integration are uncertain at best, the fact that it was the plebeian system which incorporated the patricians, and not vice versa, indicated that legitimacy may have been, at least with regard to the city, ultimately with the early plebeian government.

²¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.7; Dig. 1.2.2.20; Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.560.

²² Liv. 1.59. See also Dig. 1.2.2.15. ²³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.71.

that they were referring to a position with a political aspect as well as a military one. The title was then evidently repurposed in the early fifth century, when it was associated with the plebeian tribunes,²⁴ and Dionysius reports that the urban tribes of Rome's *comitia tributa* were also led by tribunes – although, interestingly, no such title is given for the leaders of the rural tribes.²⁵

A connection between the title “tribune” and the urban tribes, and Rome's urban population more generally, does make some sense, even outside of the etymology. Looking specifically at the plebeian tribunes, the three archaic tribes, which were thought to contain and represent the thirty *curiae*,²⁶ were in turn associated with the political structure of the urban community of the plebeian or proto-plebeian population.²⁷ Therefore plebeian tribunes can be argued to represent some aspect of Rome's archaic tribal system which was associated with the plebeian population and whose needs were not being met by the *curiones* and the *curio maximus*. By the middle of the fifth century then, the title of “tribune” seems to have had two distinct connotations. First, it had traditional associations with Rome's archaic tribal structure, which also contained the *curiae*, and seemed to represent an aspect of that system. Second, it was increasingly associated with the plebeian population which made up both the core of that archaic system and the urban population. It is therefore noteworthy that in 449 both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus record the election of the first “military tribunes” (*tribuni militum*),²⁸ the same year that the

²⁴ Broughton argued that Festus 180L may have indicated the presence of military tribunes in 486 (*MRR*: 21), as it seemed to refer to a stone inscription near the *circus maximus* which contained the partial names of a number of individuals which roughly correspond to both the plebeian tribunes for 486 (particularly P. Mutius Scaevola) but also contained some names from the consular *Fasti* in addition to making reference to a war with the Volsci. However, the passage is fragmentary and highly problematic for a variety of reasons (the most notable being the lack of a single definite dating characteristic), and there is nothing to suggest that these names were meant to indicate military tribunes/tribunes of the soldiers, and not tribunes of the plebs.

²⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.14.

²⁶ Both Dionysius and Plutarch claimed that the *curiae* were originally divisions of the so-called Romulean tribes (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.7; Plut. *Rom.* 19.4; see Richard 1978: 195–197 and Cornell 1995b: 114–118 for discussion). Lintott noted that the word *tribus* or *tribune* had nothing to do with kinship or tribe in the modern sense. Rather, the word referred to geographic divisions or districts in Rome (Lintott 1999: 50). These divisions would have been the natural affiliations for Rome's residents who did not have a particular *gens* association.

²⁷ The origins of the word *tribus* are still highly ambiguous. Varro, the chief ancient source on the subject, has commonly been interpreted as implying that the name was derived from the number three (“The Roman territory was first divided into three parts which were called the tribe of the Titenses, the tribe of the Ramnes and the Tribe of the Luceres. . .” (Varro *LL* 5.55, trans. Palmer)), although this reading is by no means certain. See Palmer 1970: 5–25 for discussion.

²⁸ The exact name of the office is not actually known, as it was found in various forms in different authors (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*, *tribuni militum pro consulibus*, and possibly *tribuni*

Valerio-Horatian laws incorporated the patrician *gentes* into the community's political structure via the tribal assembly (*comitia tributa*) and made the laws of that assembly binding on the entirety of the population.²⁹

These two developments are likely connected, although the exact significance is unclear as it is uncertain what the *comitia tributa* would have looked like in this period. Given the evident overlap between the archaic *comitia curiata* and some of the duties of the later *comitia tributa*, most notably the election of the plebeian tribunes, not to mention the association which each carried with different sets of tribes, there is ample room for confusion in this transitional period. However, as suggested above and as will be argued in detail later, the 440s makes quite a bit of sense for the advent of the *comitia tributa* in a form beginning to resemble its mid-republican arrangement, which incorporated the rural *gentes* into Rome's political structure in a different way. Indeed, with the introduction of the censorship and the centuriate assembly's first official functions, this period also makes sense for the formal introduction of that assembly as well. Either way, it seems clear that the election of the *tribuni militum* may represent another step in the integration of the plebs within Rome's military structure, and is indicative of the larger unification of the plebs and patricians through a new tribal organization.³⁰

Despite the fact that Rome had supposedly already utilized magistrates named "tribune" which had military powers back in the regal period, including the aforementioned tribune of the Celeres, the literary sources clearly indicate that these new *tribuni militum* were different. Livy recorded that the military tribunes were elected by soldiers (*milites*) to have "supreme command" (*summae rei praeessent*).³¹ However, it is clear that the soldiers in question were not the members of Rome's previously existing military forces, as the sources explicitly state that the *comitia* which elected the military tribunes was separate from that of the *populus*, and may

militares, although this may refer to military tribunes), see Ferenczy 1976: 35 for discussion. However, the unifying factor between these various factors is the words *tribuni* and *militum*.

²⁹ It should be acknowledged that the literary sources did not associate the creation of the military tribunes with the Valerio-Horatian laws, but rather with a military emergency. However, the creation of a new military official bearing the name "tribune" may not have been entirely coincidental.

³⁰ Liv. 3.51; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.43, 44.2–3. Varro's assertion that the first *tribuni plebis* (elected in 494/493) were military tribunes (Varro *LL* 5.81) may have represented a misunderstanding of the tradition, although his association of the military tribunes with the *tribuni plebis* is notable.

³¹ This particular phrase should not be overemphasized, as Livy's understanding of the nuances of power carried by officials in 449 is highly uncertain. However, it is noteworthy that Livy did not claim that the military tribunes were imbued with *imperium*, something which is likely to have been recorded in the annalistic accounts.

have therefore have been the *comitia curiata* or possibly the *comitia tributa*.³² This arguably plebeian influence on the military tribunes is reinforced by the sources' claim that soldiers who elected the military tribunes had a strong association with the Aventine.³³ Additionally, although the tribunes were supposedly imbued with "supreme command," they were not recorded as wielding *imperium*,³⁴ and the duties of the original military tribunes evidently mirrored those of the plebeian tribunes, albeit in a military sphere, suggesting that this point marked the beginning of the official organization of the plebs into a coherent military force.³⁵

The creation of the consular tribune (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*)³⁶ in 444 is even more problematic. The literary sources offered two alternative explanations for the creation of the consular tribunate in 444, one political and the other military. The former was the one favored by both Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who believed that the consular tribunate represented a political compromise designed to placate plebeian desire for access to the consulship.³⁷ The second explanation, which promoted military reasons, argued that the consular tribunate, with its higher number of offices (ranging anywhere from three to six), was required to accommodate Rome's increasing military needs.³⁸ Modern scholarly consensus has shifted back and forth between these two explanations over the past 150 years;³⁹ however, while both have some merit, both were ultimately based on flawed and anachronistic views of the early Roman state.

The idea that the consular tribunate represented a new means by which plebs were allowed to attain the highest political office in Rome while not

³² Liv. 3.51. Mitchell argued, against Botsford (Botsford 1909: 306–307), that these officials were always elected by the *comitia tributa* (Mitchell 1990: 142).

³³ Liv. 3.51. The Aventine was traditionally associated with Rome's early plebeian population.

³⁴ Both Richard and Forsythe assumed that the consular tribunes did wield *imperium* (Richard 2005: 119; Forsythe 2005: 236), although this was based on the simple assumption that commanding an army required *imperium*. See Chapter 5 for arguments against the consular tribunes wielding *imperium*. See Ferenczy 1976: 26–29 for a review of the literature on *imperium* and some more general comments on its nature and origin.

³⁵ The first recorded tribunes of the soldiers, in 449, were Sex. Manilius and M. Oppius, who were both plebeians. The only other named military tribune for the period prior to 390 was A. Cornelius Cossus in 437, who was a patrician and was credited with claiming the *spolia opima* in this year (Liv. 4.19). However, this attribution is problematic as Festus (204L) and Augustus (Liv. 4.20) both placed this event in 428 when Cornelius Cossus was consul.

³⁶ This is the most common title. Other variations include *tribuni militum pro consulibus* (Gell. NA 14.7, Liv. 4.7, Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 11.62) and *tribuni militum consulari imperio* (Gell. NA 17.21).

³⁷ Liv. 4.1–6; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 11.53–61. ³⁸ Liv. 4.7.

³⁹ See Staveley 1953, Boddington 1959, and Ridley 1986 for examples. Additionally, see Cornell 1995b: 334–339 for a general discussion of the scholarship on the topic.

giving up the patrician monopoly on the praetorship implied that the plebs had previously been an active part of the Roman state, but were barred from this office.⁴⁰ This presents difficulties because the plebs did not seem to be members of either Rome's patrician-based military or political systems, of which the early *praetores* were the head, during the early fifth century.⁴¹ The existing system was evidently a power-sharing arrangement among the leaders of powerful regional *gentes* who, like the *reges* before them, seem to have used their clans to provide protection for the community in exchange for local power through the office of the praetorship. The plebeians, evidently lacking the backing of a powerful clan almost by definition, simply did not have the requirements to fulfill this role. And while the social, political, and military dynamic in Rome was evidently changing during this period, perhaps removing some of the importance of having a strong clan backing before assuming office, it is highly unlikely that a plebeian would have aspired to the praetorship at this time. Indeed, the problematic nature of this explanation has been demonstrated time and again by the simple fact that the patrician class continued to dominate the highest offices in Rome even after the creation of the office of the consular tribunate.⁴² However, despite this dominance, it is clear that the plebeians were eligible for the consular tribunate, because there were plebeians, or at least members of families which were later members of the plebeian population, in the colleges of 444, 422, 400, 399, 396, 388, 383, and 379.⁴³

The military explanation for the consular tribunate offered by the ancient sources is also unsatisfactory. While Rome's growing state may have required an increased number of officials able to command an army, the fact that the number of consular tribunes to be elected was decided before the state's military needs were necessarily apparent challenges the logic of this argument.⁴⁴ Additionally, as has been noted on numerous occasions,⁴⁵ during many of the years for which consular tribunes were recorded Rome was not engaged in any recorded warfare.⁴⁶ Furthermore,

⁴⁰ Both Livy and Dionysius claimed that this was the case (Liv. 4.1–6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.53–61).

⁴¹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the “plebeian” names on the early *Fasti*, which may contradict this interpretation.

⁴² See *MRR*: 52–114. ⁴³ See Cornell 1995b: 336 for detailed discussion.

⁴⁴ While it is unlikely that military commitments played a major role in deciding whether or not to elect consular tribunes, Adcock's opposition to this view (Adcock 1957: 9) may have overstated the point as elections in early Rome were still being conducted in March, as opposed to December as in the late Republic, and as March was the beginning of the campaigning season (this was the point when the Salii took down their archaic shields (*ancilia*), see Balsdon 1966) it would not be completely implausible to argue that Rome may have been aware of future military concerns at this point.

⁴⁵ See for instance Staveley 1953: 31–32, Adcock 1957: 9–10 and Boddington 1959: 358–359.

⁴⁶ See *MRR*: 52–114.

the number of consular tribunes elected each year varied widely, and did not depend on the level of warfare in which Rome was engaged.⁴⁷ And finally, as noted when discussing the *fasti* for the early Republic, the numerous instances of *consules suffecti* and other inconsistencies hint that the early praetorship may not have been limited to only two per year.

Despite these issues, both of these ancient explanations may have carried a kernel of truth. Although it is unlikely that the consular tribunate was created solely in order to give the plebeians access to Rome's highest offices, the name of the office (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*) suggests a link to the previously existing tribunes, associated with the archaic tribal and curiate bodies, and therefore with the plebeian population.⁴⁸ Indeed, the juxtaposition of the *tribuni militum* and *consulari potestas* indicated that the office may have been seen as a melding of two separate military and political groups (at least in the minds of the later annalists):⁴⁹ the consulship, representing Rome's traditional patrician or *gens*-based forces, and the tribunate, which represented the community-based, plebeian element. The association between the consular tribunate and Rome's expanded military needs is also, therefore, slightly more logical. The need for more officials to command armies was not dictated by external threats or stimuli, but rather by the expansion of Rome's military forces themselves with the formal inclusion of the plebs, albeit still on a limited or part-time basis.⁵⁰

It is also likely that the consular tribunes lacked *imperium*. This issue has been a subject of much debate as the sources are arguably contradictory on the matter. On the one hand, the consular tribunes clearly commanded armies and Livy reported that they had *lictors* who bore *fascēs*, all of which points toward *imperium*.⁵¹ Conversely, none of the consular tribunes seem to have celebrated a triumph, that ritual which was intimately connected with *imperium*, and there does seem to be a subtle but distinct change in the nature of the power wielded by these men.⁵² Indeed, the commonly

⁴⁷ Boddington 1959: 358–359.

⁴⁸ Versnel drew attention to the title as well, although he suggested a link to another type of military leader who was denied the triumph: the *privatus cum imperio*, or *pro consule* (Versnel 1970: 187).

⁴⁹ The original date of this title, or job description, is entirely uncertain, although the reference to the consulship suggests a date after the fourth century.

⁵⁰ Both Sumner (1970: 72) and Mitchell (1990: 139–142) argued that the variation in the number of military officials (both the transition from consuls to consular tribunes, and the number of consular tribunes elected each year) was a result of changing levy sizes. While neither went so far as to claim that this was the result of the inclusion of the plebeians, Mitchell did note that it was likely because of plebeian influence (*ibid.*: 142).

⁵¹ Liv. 5.40. Brennan argued that the 24 lictors of the two early *praetores* may have been divided up among the various consular tribunes (Brennan 2000: 54).

⁵² See Armstrong 2013: 7–21 for discussion.

used formula for describing these new officials explicitly denotes their power as *consulari potestate*, a formula which was traditionally employed to denote military command without *imperium*.⁵³ Although the evidence is far from conclusive, a holistic look at this new magistracy and role it seems to play in Rome's political and military development, coupled with a more nuanced understanding of archaic *imperium*, all points toward the consular tribunes not wielding this power – largely because it was not needed.

While previously the *praetores* had likely been selected by the gentilicial elite and then confirmed in their power over the community via the *comitia curiata* and the *lex curiata de imperio*, the consular tribunes were evidently elected in the centuriate assembly, representing one of the first recorded functions of this assembly, along with the election of the censors. The use of the centuriate assembly to select military leaders, and arguably its very creation as a formal assembly in this period, may have fundamentally altered the relationship between military leadership and the community, alleviating the need for the *lex de imperio*.⁵⁴ As discussed in Chapter 3, Roman *imperium* originated during the regal period and was the type of power wielded by the Roman *rex*, which encompassed certain military, judicial, and religious duties with regard to the community.⁵⁵ As argued earlier, during the regal period and early Republic, the *comitia curiata* granted or confirmed *imperium* to gentilicial elites who were still based largely outside of the community, which seems to have given them a certain degree of authority over the community in exchange for their military support. That the consular tribunes lacked *imperium* did not necessarily represent a lack of authority. They were able to conduct warfare

⁵³ See Brennan 2000: 51 for discussion.

⁵⁴ Being elected in the centuriate assembly did not necessarily preclude a *lex curiata*, as consuls and *praetores* during the mid to late Republic were elected in the centuriate assembly and also acquired a *lex curiata*, although it is unlikely that this was a common practice at this early date. Additionally, as Brennan argued, there is no evidence to suggest that the consular tribunes ever attained a *lex curiata*, and their *imperium* is cast into further doubt by the complete absence of triumphs by consular tribunes (Brennan 2000: 52). It is also uncertain whether the first set of consular tribunes (elected in 444) was actually elected in the centuriate assembly. As argued below, it is likely that the *comitia centuriata* did not exist in a recognizable form until the advent of the censorship in 443, meaning it would have been impossible for the consular tribunes to be elected in this *comitia*. This may therefore help to explain why the first consular tribunes abdicated after only three months after their election due to flaws in the auspices (Liv. 4.7; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 11.62; Zon. 7.19), as the *comitia curiata* could not grant the correct *auspicia maxima*. The second set of consular tribunes elected (438), and the first set to successfully complete their term of office, would have therefore been the first elected in the *comitia centuriata*. Aulus Gellius' use of the title *tribuni militum consulari imperio* (a version also found on the Tablet of Lyon) represented one of the only pieces of evidence indicating that magistrates did wield *imperium* (see Versnel 1970: 187–188 for discussion).

⁵⁵ See Mommsen 1887–1888: I, 128 and Versnel 1970: 165–198 for additional discussion of *imperium* and its relationship with *auspicium*.

along the same lines as the *praetores*, although perhaps without the benefit of the *patria potestas*-like power which *imperium* seems to have carried. Rather, the consular tribune's lack of *imperium* may have instead indicated that it was simply not needed, because the consular tribunes did not come outside of the community and therefore did not require the creation of the same type of bond or "contract" which would have been needed with an outside entity.⁵⁶

The army of the consular tribunes

The exact nature and structure of Rome's increasingly united army in the mid fifth century is still unclear. It is likely that the literary sources were correct in claiming that the consular tribunes were elected largely from the patrician population at this early stage, with only a few powerful plebeians ever holding the office.⁵⁷ While this may have related to their ability to hold the auspices, or simply their traditional grip on power, it would also have resulted in the leaders having a certain degree of military background as a result of the long tradition of *gens*-based warfare. Additionally, it is reasonably certain, based on the use of the title *tribuni militum*, that the army led by the consular tribunes was in some way associated with the wider urban population of the city (i.e. plebeians), although it is uncertain how or what percentage of the army they made up. Indeed, the use of the title tribune may have also related to the emerging *comitia tributa*, which seems to have included both the urban and gentilicial populations and had also taken over the election of the plebeian tribunes, perhaps reflecting the "blended" character of this new force.

It is likely that the armies of the consular tribunes still contained a core of soldiers which were part of the aristocratic leader's *gens*, thus representing a point of continuity with the early *praetores*. However, this core was likely augmented by plebeian soldiers, again representing a point of continuity with the earlier armies, although likely on a more regular basis.⁵⁸ However, perhaps because of the lack of *imperium*, this new system was somehow seen as more effective and perhaps more inclusive. Unfortunately the sources are silent on this issue, but there are a number of logical possibilities. The most obvious is that soldiers from Rome's urban

⁵⁶ This is supported by the fact that although the consular tribunes evidently lacked *imperium* and regal *auspicia*, they did have *auspicia maxima domi*, or a variety of civic *auspicia* (*ibid.* 52–53).

⁵⁷ Liv. 4.49–50.

⁵⁸ The fact that dictators were still appointed during this period hints that each consular tribune was not able to control the entire *populus*, or *gens*-based military population.

population were increasingly unwilling to place themselves under the full power of a praetor, as granted by *imperium*. The power of *imperium*, even in the later Republic, still made a soldier subject to the will of a general in the same way that a son would be subject to the will of his *paterfamilias*. Given the increasingly heterogeneous aims and goals of Rome's gentilicial elite, which monopolized the office of *praetor*, this position may not have been appealing for a number of reasons. For members of rival *gentes*, this situation would have created a conflict in their loyalties and hierarchy, as even in much later periods it was slightly uncertain how the power of *imperium* and that of a *paterfamilias* related – although it is clear that they existed in the same realm.⁵⁹ So, as suggested previously, unless required by an emergency which necessitated a dictator, the likelihood of members of rival *gentes* willingly putting themselves under the *imperium* of a magistrate is arguably minimal.

For members of the plebeian population, the desire to put oneself under the control of a powerful warlord may have also been somewhat lacking – particularly given the suggested decline in portable wealth in Latium during the period and with it the possibility of immediate economic gain from warfare. During this period, and indeed even much later, although there may have been a vague sense of duty associated with military service, it is clear that Rome's army was recruited largely on a volunteer basis. Polybius famously claimed in book six of his history that when consuls wished to enroll soldiers, “all Roman citizens of military age” were required to present themselves at the *dilectus*, and the four legions were chosen out of the assembled men on a tribe-by-tribe basis.⁶⁰ Given Polybius' experience with the Roman army, and likely firsthand knowledge of recruitment practices, this account has often been taken at face value, indicating that by the second century, and likely much earlier, military service was compulsory. However, as Brunt noted, assembling “all Roman citizens of military age” (even by the most pessimistic estimates for the second century this would have been at least 75,000),⁶¹ particularly in an area as small as the Campus Martius, would have been both highly impractical and arguably impossible.⁶² During the middle and late Republic, and most definitely during time of need, there would obviously have been a formal push to increase manpower reserves and force as many men as possible into the

⁵⁹ This conflict can be seen in the incident which occurred between Quintus Fabius Maximus and his father Fabius Maximus Cunctator in 213, when the younger Fabius' *imperium* came into conflict with his father's *patria potestas* (Gell. *NA* 2.2.13; Val Max. 2.2.4; Liv. 24.44; Plut. *Fab.* 24). See Beck 2011: 87 for discussion.

⁶⁰ Polyb. 6.19–21. ⁶¹ De Ligt 2007: 115. ⁶² Brunt 1971a: 77, 625–627.

ranks, but it is clear that during the majority of the Republic soldiers enrolled in the legions when it was beneficial to them and avoided service when it was not.⁶³ The command structure of the consular tribunes, perhaps because it did not include the grant of *imperium* or because it was seen as a product of the community itself, and therefore reflected the community's aims and desires, may have been more appealing to the men of the urban population. As a result, the final picture of these unified armies may have resembled the forces raised under emergency circumstances earlier in the Republic with regard to manpower, although any suggestions as to how these men were equipped or positioned would be entirely conjecture.⁶⁴ This composition is further borne out by the behavior of the armies, which, as with the emergency levies of the first half of the fifth century, the sources record as being occasionally undisciplined. Most notably, in 414 Livy records that the army of Marcus Postumius Regillensis was so upset by his failure to share spoils that they threw rocks at him and his companions.⁶⁵

The united nature of the armies of the consular tribunes does not mean that these officials suddenly acted in a completely community-centered way, however, as they were still generally led by gentilicial elites with their own agendas. For instance, Livy notes that in 426, the forces of the consular tribunes all acted independently to their ruin.⁶⁶ But perhaps the best evidence for the character of the consular tribunes is in the entry for the year 397, where Livy states:

Aulus Postumius and Lucius Iulus, without holding a regular levy—for this the plebeian tribunes hindered—but with a company consisting almost solely of volunteers whom they had induced to join by their exhortations, marched out by cross-country ways through the territory of Caere, and surprised the Tarquinienses as they were returning from their depredations laden with booty. Many men they slew, all they stripped of their baggage; and having recovered the spoils of their own fields, returned to Rome. Two days were allowed the owners to identify their property; on the third all that had not been recognized—chiefly things belonging to the enemy themselves—was sold under the spear and the proceeds divided amongst the soldiers.⁶⁷

⁶³ This largely volunteer basis for Rome's army may help to explain both why various manpower shortages are reported, most notably during the late second century, when there seems to be no decline in the population and indeed a rise in wealth – the army was simply less appealing for those who had the wealth necessary to enroll.

⁶⁴ It is possible that a form of the Servian Constitution was in effect after the introduction of the censorship in 443, which may offer some insight into the equipment worn by soldiers during the period.

⁶⁵ Liv. 4.50. See Holloway 2008: 123–124 for discussion. ⁶⁶ Liv. 4.31.

⁶⁷ Liv. 5.16 (trans. Foster).

This tantalizing vignette suggests that at least some of the consular tribunes, despite the changing character of their army, were still operating in the archaic, clan-based mode of warfare predicated on raiding. Indeed, Holloway has gone so far as to argue that the consular tribunes were not true magistrates, but rather the leaders of private warbands who were integrated into the *fasti* at a later date to fill gaps in the record.⁶⁸ While this argument likely pushes the point too far, and indeed the present volume offers an alternative (and conflicting) opinion, it demonstrates how strong the archaic approach to warfare and modes of behavior likely were.

The creation of the censorship

The creation of the censorship in 443 marked another major step in the development of the Roman state which was linked to the creation of a unified patrician-plebeian army and state.⁶⁹ While some of the *censores'* duties may have previously been under the purview of the *praetores* and *reges* before them,⁷⁰ the creation of a magistracy whose sole purpose was to count and categorize the Roman people indicated a change in how the Roman state conceived of and related to the population of the city.⁷¹ The creation of this office, given its date and nature, was likely linked to both *The Twelve Tables* and the introduction of the consular tribunate, along with the likely the development of both the centuriate and tribal assemblies and was one of the key features in the creation of Rome's new united patrician-plebeian, or gentilicial-urban, state.⁷²

While it is possible that censuses had been conducted during the early fifth century by the *praetores*, what these might have entailed is somewhat uncertain.⁷³ Given the kinship-based and largely hierarchical structure of

⁶⁸ Holloway 2008: 124.

⁶⁹ Mommsen argued that the office was created in 435 (Mommsen 1887–1888: 335), while Beloch argued for a mid fourth-century date, specifically 363 (Beloch 1926: 83).

⁷⁰ Brennan 2000: 54–55. Crawford also drew attention to a possible reference to the census in an unattributed fragment from *The Twelve Tables* (Goetz, Adnotationes, III; CGL 56,4) (Crawford 1996: 572).

⁷¹ Nilsson associated the creation of the censorship with the tactical shift to a hoplite phalanx in Rome (Nilsson 1929: 5).

⁷² As noted above, the authenticity of the date for the introduction of the censorship was denied by Mommsen (Mommsen 1887–1888: 332), and also by Beloch (Beloch 1926: 79) and Cram (Cram 1940: 73), but is generally accepted by modern scholarship. See Astin (Astin 1982: 174–175) for a thorough discussion of the modern position. The position of the censorship as part of the larger process of state formation is supported by its auspicial links to the consular tribunate, in that they both shared the new, non-regal *auspicia maxima*, which seems to have represented a new, civic variety of the auspices (Brennan 2000: 56).

⁷³ Liv. 4.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.63; Zonar. 7.19.6.

early Roman clans, it would be unusual if each *gens* was not at least roughly aware of how many members, clients, and followers it had at any given time. Thus, for this portion of the population, a census may have simply involved asking the various members of the senate how large their *gens* was. However, given the continued potential for mobility among the clans and their still somewhat ephemeral connection to the community, along with the possibility that members of a *gens* might not serve under the leadership or *imperium* of a rival clan leader, it is not entirely certain what sort of benefit would have been gained from knowing these numbers. Knowing the full composition of the archaic *classis*, and most notably the number of men without an existing gentilicial association in this group who might be recruited by a magistrate with *imperium*, would have been more useful – and particularly for a *rex* who was able to view the community over the *longue durée* – although it is again uncertain how much this would have benefited the *praetores*, whose collegial aspect, short terms in office, and likely reliance on volunteers, would have made such data of little practical concern.⁷⁴

Several factors seem to have changed in the 440s which made the census both more useful and more onerous, thus necessitating its own magistrate. The most significant development was the increased integration of Rome's urban and gentilicial elements during the 450s and 440s. Much of this integration seems to have been focused on the emerging *comitia tributa*, or tribal assembly, which took on a significantly increased role with its laws (*plebescita*) becoming binding on the entire community in 449.⁷⁵ As already noted, this assembly seems to have taken over some of the duties of the *comitia curiata* while also giving a voice to the *gentes*, which had settled in the city's hinterland, making it a logical vehicle for further amalgamation in this period. Given the increased importance of this assembly, regulating membership would have also been of increased importance as well. However, given its heterogeneous composition, including both *gentes* and the city's varied urban population, the task may have been beyond the capabilities of the *praetores* in their limited terms in office, or their successors the consular tribunes. Add to this a desire to know how many men within the various tribes owned military equipment, and so formed part of the *classis*, and the task would have been even

⁷⁴ For pre- 443 censuses see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.20, 5.75, 6.96, 9.36, 11.63; *Fasti Capitolini* (474); Liv. 3.3, 3.22, 3.24. See Suolahti 1963: 20–25 for discussion.

⁷⁵ Liv. 3.55; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.45.

more complicated and onerous still – all providing a logical impetus for the creation of a new office devoted solely to this endeavor.⁷⁶

The interpretation that the censorship was instituted in order to integrate a previously heterogeneous mix of people is further supported by the formula used as a part of the census during the Republic, preserved in Varro, in which the herald summoned three different types of citizens: the *Quirites*, the armed and private soldiers (*pedites armatos privatosque*), and the *curatores omnium tribuum*. All three groups came under the larger grouping of the *populi Romani Quiritium*.⁷⁷ As Palmer argued, it is noteworthy that the *populus Romanus* and the *populus Romanus Quiritium* do not appear to be synonymous, but rather that the use of *Quiritium* seemed to designate a particular subgroup likely associated with the archaic *curiae*.⁷⁸ While the etymological connection between the *Quirites* and the *curiae*, which was commonly argued in the early twentieth century,⁷⁹ is now increasingly thought to be false, there are still strong reasons for thinking the *curiae* and *Quirites* were linked.⁸⁰ Smith has argued that the coincidence of the *Quirinalia* with the *Feriae Stultorum* at the *Fornacalia* suggests a connection, as does the evident association between the *Quirites* and the archaic Sabine settlement on the Quirinal hill.⁸¹ But perhaps most convincingly, *provocatio*, the archaic appeal, was made to the *Quirites*,⁸² and, as Lintott argued, in its original form this appeal was evidently an appeal to the civic community, and specifically not the army.⁸³ It is therefore likely that the *Quirites* represented a separate category from the private armed soldiers (*pedites armatos privatosque*), which were likely to have consisted of members of the community who may not have previously been included in Rome's gentilicial armed forces – or at least not regularly.⁸⁴ This basic task of integrating the *curiae* or

⁷⁶ The argument, presented by Suolahti among others (*ibid.*: 22), that the censorship was created when Rome's population reached a certain level is unlikely to be correct as it supposed an increase in Rome's population throughout the fifth century, a point which is not supported by either the archaeology or the (admittedly highly controversial) census figures which show a roughly stable population, and even a slight decline during the early years of the fifth century (see Frank 1930).

⁷⁷ Varro *LL* 6.86. Only Livy uses the singular *populus Romanus* with *Quiritium* (see Oakley 1998: 448), with the plural *populus Romanus Quirites*, or Varro's *populi Romani Quiritium*, being by far the more common forms.

⁷⁸ Palmer 1970: 158–159. Palmer's argument that *privatos* should be defined as “unarmed” (and therefore, according to Palmer, referring to the *seniores* or the centuriate organization) is unconvincing.

⁷⁹ See for instance Kretschmer 1920: 145–157. ⁸⁰ See Smith 2006: 198–201. ⁸¹ *Ibid.*: 199.

⁸² *Ibid.*: 200. ⁸³ Lintott 1972: 229.

⁸⁴ Palmer 1970: 158–159. This division between the *Quirites* and the members of the *populus Romanus Quiritium* who were *armatos privatosque* hinted at the transient nature of *Quiritis*' identification. Suetonius recorded that when Caesar wanted to shame the mutinying tenth Legion, he called them *Quirites* instead of *milites* (Suet. *Iul.* 69–70), indicating a marked distinction between the *Quirites*

plebeians into the more gentilicial state may have lain behind the stress placed on the censorship's evidently humble origins, because the literary sources explicitly claimed that the office conferred little prestige,⁸⁵ despite the evident power of the men who held the office.⁸⁶

Another possible reason for the creation of the censorship in the late 440s related to the religious nature of the census. Ogilvie's detailed examination of the *lustrum*, the ritual associated with the census, brought attention to the often neglected religious aspects inherent in the process of inclusion and exclusion.⁸⁷ The ancient sources were unanimous in claiming that the *lustrum* had been previously conducted by the *praetores*, and the *reges* before them, since the birth of the city, and that the *lustrum* conducted by the first *censores* was actually the eleventh in Rome's history.⁸⁸ Although the exact nature of the *lustrum* associated with the early census is unknown,⁸⁹ Ogilvie convincingly argued that it involved a ritual circumlocution with a sequence of sacrifices at various altars, hinting at a geographic, and indeed community-centered, basis for this ritual as conducted by the *censores*.⁹⁰ Given that the *praetores* were strongly associated with Rome's *gentes*, which also had religious functions, the incorporation of the plebeians into a larger gentilicial/urban structure may have required the introduction of a new religious official to conduct the rites of the census.⁹¹ The use of separate rituals and officials to include various segments of the population may be mirrored in the reaffirmation of the inviolability of the plebeian tribunes in 449, as part of the Valerio-Horatian laws. Livy explained this by claiming that the rituals had fallen out of use; however, it is possible that the rituals which insured the

and those who conducted warfare. It is therefore likely that members of the *curiae* who joined the gentilicial warbands temporarily gave up their identity as *Quirites*.

⁸⁵ Liv. 4.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.63; Zon. 7.19; Dig. 1.2.2.17.

⁸⁶ Of the eighteen known *censores* between 443 and 367, only seven had not formerly been *praetores*, consuls or consular tribunes, and of these seven, five went on to hold one of these two magistracies (Suolahti 1963: 23).

⁸⁷ Ogilvie 1961: 31–39.

⁸⁸ See Astin 1982: 174–187 for a detailed analysis of the frequency of early *lustra*. See Mommsen 1887–1888: 3, 615 and Alföldi 1965: 38–39 for discussion of the archaic Latin census, likely to have centered on the region's aristocratic *gentes*, which may have represented the early *lustra* recorded in the sources.

⁸⁹ There were other *lustra*, or cleansing rituals, associated with other aspects of Roman society. See Ogilvie 1961: 31–39 for a basic list and description.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 38–39.

⁹¹ See Alföldi 1965: 12–13 for a discussion of the use of rituals in community self-identification in archaic Latium. Brennan's argument, that the censorship represented a way in which the patricians were able to stop the plebeians from practicing the consular *lustrum* (Brennan 2000: 57), is unconvincing, because just like the consular tribunate, this office continued to be monopolized by the patricians throughout the fifth century.

inviolability of the tribunes had only related to the plebeians in the first instance, and that a new set of rituals had been required to make them apply to the patricians as well.⁹²

*The censorship, the centuriate organization, and the tribal assembly:
a revised model*

At least part of the motivation behind the creation of the censorship was likely military in origin. Given the nature of the censorship in the better-documented late Republic, the early census probably included both a general count of people and a basic categorization by wealth.⁹³ While there would have been a number of good practical reasons for a valid population count and estimation of wealth within a burgeoning state, the most obvious would have been the desire to count and categorize men who would have been able to fight in the army – the Roman *classis*.⁹⁴ Additionally, it is likely that the censorship was also associated with the development of Rome's political assemblies, most notably the centuriate assembly, and perhaps an increasingly coherent understanding of what it meant to be "Roman."⁹⁵

As noted above, while some form of the timocratic "Servian Constitution" was likely to have been the *de facto* organization of Rome's military forces during the early fifth century, it is unlikely that the full centuriate assembly was in place at this early date.⁹⁶ Nilsson, among others,⁹⁷ argued for the introduction of the Servian Constitution during the late fifth century,⁹⁸ and while some of his methods and logic have rightly been criticized, the connection which he made between the advent

⁹² Liv. 3.55; Cic. *Leg.* 3.9.

⁹³ Ferenczy argued that the census (as conducted in 443) simply divided the population into the *classis* and *infra classem* (Ferenczy 1976: 31), as described by Festus (100 L) and Aulus Gellius (Gell. *NA* VI. 13) while citing a speech by Cato in the *Attic Nights*.

⁹⁴ See Nilsson's examination of the introduction of the censorship (Nilsson 1929: 1–11).

⁹⁵ See Momigliano 1966: 596 and Cornell 1995b: 185 for possible models for the gradual introduction of the Servian Constitution over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 3. Cornell argued that the distinction between *adsidui* and *proletarii* in *The Twelve Tables* (1.4) indicated that the Servian reforms, which traditionally created the distinction between *adsidui* and *proletarii*, must be dated before 450 (Cornell 1995b: 289). However, given the uncertain origins of both of these words, this argument is problematic at best. Indeed, Cornell's subsequent argument, that the distinction between *adsidui* and *proletarii* was probably not equivalent to the distinction between *classis* and *infra classem* at this point, but that the *proletarii* actually represented a group completely outside the Servian Constitution (*ibid.*: 289), seemed to go against the very evidence which he used to support his original position associating the *adsidui* and *proletarii* with the Servian Constitution (see particularly Cic. *Rep.* 2.40, Cic. *Top.* 2).

⁹⁷ See also Beloch 1926: 264 and more recently Ferenczy 1976: 31. ⁹⁸ Nilsson 1929: 1–11.

of the censorship and the use of “Servian” classes may have some validity. Beyond Nilsson’s arguments that the introduction of a settlement-wide timocratic system would have provided a logical impetus for the creation of the censorship, the association between the introduction of the censorship and the *comitia centuriata* is marked. While other early Roman magistrates, presumably taking their cue from the *praetores*, required at least the ratifying vote of the *comitia curiata*, the censorship was the first office to be elected and confirmed by only by the *comitia centuriata*.⁹⁹ The indirect evidence for the creation of the centuriate assembly in the 440s is also substantial. As Taylor noted, the centuriate assembly did not exist in isolation, but worked in close conjunction with Rome’s tribal units, although the nature of the relationship, even as late as the third century, is still ambiguous.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, scholars have noted that the words *tribus* and *centuriae* are often used interchangeably in the sources, suggesting that the Romans themselves seem to have regarded them (and perhaps the related *comitia*) as synonymous.¹⁰¹ The connection was explained during the late Republic by ascribing both their origins to a single set of reforms made by Servius Tullius.¹⁰² While this attribution is now regarded as highly unlikely, the possibility of their twinned birth, or perhaps rebirth, still bears some consideration.¹⁰³

Although their origins are still shrouded in mystery, both the *comitia tributa* and the *comitia centuriata* experienced marked changes during the 440s, and both were transformed by the institution of the censorship, which would have determined their composition. Additionally, Cornell has drawn attention to Livy’s reference to the *classis* in his entry for 426,¹⁰⁴ which represented one of the only instances where an aspect of the Servian military model appears in the narrative outside the passages specifically devoted to the Servian Constitution, and the only one which referred to the division of Roman society by class.¹⁰⁵ This does not offer a solid date for the reforms, but does provide a plausible *terminus ante quem* in the second half of the fifth century.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Lintott noted that this was an oddity, arguing that it may represent the introduction of a new voting assembly in Rome’s political system (Lintott 1999: 49). Brennan argued, unconvincingly, that the *lex centuriata* passed after the election of the censors was not a confirmation, but actually limited their powers (Brennan 2000: 56–57).

¹⁰⁰ Taylor 1957: 340. ¹⁰¹ See Staveley 1953; Nicholls 1956 and more recently Grieve 1985.

¹⁰² Liv. 1.42–43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.13–21; Cic. *Rep.* 2.20.

¹⁰³ See, most notably, Momigliano 1966: 596 and Cornell 1995b: 185.

¹⁰⁴ Cornell 1983: 109, Liv. 4.34.

¹⁰⁵ The other instance is Liv. 1.59, where he claimed that the Roman *iuniores* readily joined the cause of Brutus against Tarquinius Superbus.

¹⁰⁶ Cornell argued that it provided a *terminus post quem* for the division of the *adsidui* into five classes, which seem to have replaced the early *classis/infra classem* division (Cornell 1983: 109).

Most convincingly, however, are the political arguments for the 440s marking a new period in their development. As noted, in 449, the Valerio-Horatian laws made the laws of the *comitia tributa* binding on the patricians in addition to the rest of the community, and indicated the point at which the *comitia tributa* may have emerged in a form resembling its late republican incarnation. The character of this body prior to 449 is therefore hard to imagine. It is possible that, given that its laws seem to have only been binding on a plebeian segment of the population, the *comitia tributa* previously contained only plebeians. However, Rome's plebeian or proto-plebeian society seems to have already had a system of governance based on the *curiae* and the curiate assembly, making a *comitia tributa* of plebeians largely redundant. Additionally, the early tribal assembly seems to have been dominated, not by the urban population, but by the rural tribes, many of which bore gentilicial names. Indeed, sixteen of the oldest seventeen rural tribes bore the names of Roman *gentes*, and all of them that can be identified were patrician.¹⁰⁷ What the laws of 449 may therefore have marked is the creation of a system intended to include the increasingly sedentary *gentes* within Rome's community-based political structure, through the medium of the tribes.¹⁰⁸

The word *tribus*, in a mid fifth-century context, can therefore be seen as a way for the community of Rome to quantify, identify, and arguably control the various Latin *gentes* which had settled in and around Rome, and to bind them together in a single *comitia*. The urban tribes may have represented rough approximations of *gentes*, possibly based on an expanded version of the previous archaic tribes, meant to balance the power of the *gentes* in the assembly. This represents an interesting evolution for the word *tribus*, which previously seems to have been connected solely to the urban community. The year 449, rather than simply having represented a reform of the *comitia tributa*, may therefore have been its real advent,¹⁰⁹ when the first rural tribes were formally created.¹¹⁰ From this point on, however, the

¹⁰⁷ Taylor 1960: 35. The seventeenth archaic rural tribe, Clustumina, is argued to have been derived from the settlement of Crustumeria, which Livy recorded as being captured during the early fifth century (Liv. 2.19).

¹⁰⁸ Livy claimed that the laws of *The Twelve Tables* were also ratified by the centuriate assembly (Liv. 3.34), providing still more indirect evidence associating the advent of the *comitia centuriata* with the process of state formation which occurred c. 450.

¹⁰⁹ It is likely that some form of the *comitia tributa* was in existence earlier, although perhaps in a descriptive, highly informal, or possibly religious form. The Publilian law of 471 represents the only real troubling issue for this interpretation, as it suggests that the assembly did have at least one important function from this year. The year 449, however, seems to have been key and the point at which this institution was formalized and integrated with the regions' *gentes*.

¹¹⁰ The earlier, gradual creation of the rural tribes may have represented an archaic memory of when the various *gentes* traveled to and settled in and around Rome.

comitia tributa and the *tribus* seem to have taken over the position of the *curiae* as the voice and representation of the plebeians and the urban community. Although arguably dominated by the rural *gentes* which made up the rural tribes, the *comitia tributa* managed the election of the plebeian tribunes and seems to have exerted some control over the annual grants of *imperium* as well.¹¹¹

The role of the *censores* in both the *comitia tributa* and the *comitia centuriata* is also important. These officials were charged with organizing the population into their classes and tribes, and were later responsible for the inclusion of new tribes into the system.¹¹² While it is possible that the *praetores* had previously been regulating the tribes, it is somewhat unlikely given both the evident character of the archaic tribes and the seemingly limited purview of the early *praetores*. As a result, this aspect of the *censores*' duties indicates that the 440s may have also witnessed a regularization, and possibly reinterpretation, of Rome's tribal units, which acted in conjunction with the birth, or rebirth, of the *classis* and centuriate assembly.¹¹³

This interpretation suggests several things about the nature and makeup of the Roman army during the period. Although it is still unlikely that a fully formed version of the centuriate assembly was in place, with all of its various classes, the need for *censores* to distinguish between various economic groups indicated a certain level of variation within Rome's military population, even if only to the extent of the "haves" and the "have nots." While this system may still have been more descriptive than prescriptive at this point, at least with regard to military equipment, it indicated the beginnings of the timocratic differentiation within Rome's armed forces, particularly with regard to arms and armor. Additionally, while the description of the Servian classes offered in the literary sources may not represent the reality of the mid fifth century, certain aspects, such as the use of the oval italic *scutum* by classes beneath the first class, as opposed to the circular *clipeus*,¹¹⁴ may constitute tantalizing evidence that the gradual

¹¹¹ Grieve 1985: 280. ¹¹² Taylor 1960: 17–19. ¹¹³ See Suolahti 1963: 21–25 for discussion.

¹¹⁴ A large amount of literature has been written on the use of both the oval *scutum* and circular *clipeus*, or *aspis*, in Rome (see particularly Snodgrass 1967: 53–58, Connolly 1981: 51–54, 91–103, 131–132, Feugère 2002: 76–78, and Bishop and Coulston 2006: 61–63). Archaeological evidence for the circular *clipeus* in Latium is problematic at best, because while there are almost 100 examples of circular bronze shields of Italian origin (most of which date to the seventh century), many appear to have been used in entirely ceremonial contexts because they were composed of a single, thin sheet of elaborately beaten bronze (see Connolly 1981: 94). The oval *scutum* (a large oval body shield with a spindle-shaped boss) was in use throughout Italy since the Bronze Age, and examples have been found in eighth-century graves in Poggio alla Guardia at Vetulonia, in seventh- and sixth-century contexts in northern Italy and modern-day Austria, and in a fifth-century context from Malpasso in the Italian central highlands (*ibid.*: 95).

incorporation of newer elements, like the plebs, may also have resulted in the shift toward the much cheaper military equipment.¹¹⁵ Naturally the descriptions of panoplies in the literary accounts of the Servian classes are incredibly problematic, but this particular aspect does seem to align reasonably well with the archaeological evidence, and particularly the iconography, which hints at a shift in this direction – although whether increased use of the oval *scutum* was a result of cost, or a result of the increase in the use of javelins in this period, is debatable.

The populus, the plebs, and the “closing of the patriciate”

The creation of a new set of offices, assemblies, and socio-political divisions which seem to have formalized the unification of Rome’s urban or plebeian state and that of the patrician *gentes* may also have represented the point at which the barriers between the plebeians and the archaic *populus*, or the military population of Rome, were finally broken down. Prior to this time, the groups which were known as the *populus* and the plebs were evidently separated by a complex but fluid set of socio-political linkages, illustrated by the phrase *populus plebesque*, whereby members of the *populus* were bound to the *praetores* of Rome via various mechanisms. These linkages, which ranged from the more limited grant of *imperium*, to possibly *nexum*, the patron-client bond, or indeed actual membership in a *gens*, were most obviously expressed in terms of military service, but may have also formed the foundation of Rome’s early social hierarchy. It is worth reiterating as well that these linkages and groupings were likely fluid in nature and an individual could identify as a plebeian one day and a member of the *populus* the next, and indeed vice versa, depending on the nature of their association to the community its various entities. However, with the official creation of a community-based military force, in which members of the

¹¹⁵ Discussion of these shield types has traditionally focused on the supposed Greek influence behind the use of the *clipeus*, and a progression from the *clipeus* to the *scutum* as part of the transition from hoplite phalanx to manipular legion, as suggested by the literary sources (see Chapter 3 and Burns 2005: 147–148 for additional discussion). Iconographic evidence suggested, however, that the relationship between the *clipeus* and the oblong *scutum* should not be seen in terms of a progression, or even as associated with different periods of warfare, because both types of shields were commonly depicted in the same scenes in various fifth- and fourth-century contexts (see Pontrandolfo Greco and Rouveret 1992 for relevant examples from Paestum and Connolly 1981: 96 for examples from the Certosa *stirula*), suggesting that they were used contemporaneously. However, while these shield types can be seen in the same contexts, it is likely that these shield types were associated with different types of warriors, with the oblong *scutum* commonly being associated with javelineers or other light-armed soldiers in the iconography.

plebs and *populus* were evidently equal, aspects of this distinction may have begun to dissolve.

The change in Rome's traditional socio-political groups during the 440s is evidenced by the repealing of the prohibition against marriage between patricians and plebeians. The impact of this measure is presented vividly in Livy's account of the accusations laid against the tribune Gaius Canuleius in 445 that he was aiming to "contaminate *gentes* and cast the auspices, both public and private, into confusion, that nothing might be pure, nothing unpolluted; so that, when all distinctions had been obliterated, no man might recognize either himself or his kindred."¹¹⁶ These accusations, which Livy ascribed to a combination of the law to repeal the ban on marriage between plebeians and patricians and, unconvincingly, to the suggestion that one of the consulships should have been designated for the plebeians, are undoubtedly anachronistic, but may represent a cultural memory of resistance to the inclusion of the plebeians in the gentilicial aspects of Rome's socio-political structure.¹¹⁷ It is therefore unsurprising that the period between the late 440s to the 420s was also often given as the approximate date for the final "closing of the patriciate."¹¹⁸

The integration of the regional gentilicial aristocracy into Roman society, and the creation of a unified state, may also have offered an impetus for the closing of the patriciate, the mysterious phenomenon whereby the previously open and mobile aristocracy of Rome transformed itself into an exclusive collection of sedentary *gentes*. This phenomenon, which was presented briefly in [Chapter 4](#) as part of an argument for the increasingly settled nature of Latium's aristocracy,¹¹⁹ not only indicated the beginning of a distinctively "Roman" elite, but also the presence of rigid class divisions within Roman society. The emergence of these divisions

¹¹⁶ *Conlutionem gentium, perturbationem auspiorum publicorum privatorumque adferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut discrimine omni sublato nec se quisquam nec suos noverit* (Liv. 4.2, trans. Foster).

¹¹⁷ The association between these accusations and the designation of one of the consular positions to a plebeian (a reference to the Licinio-Sextian rogation of 367) clearly indicates an anachronistic explanation by Livy. Ogilvie noted that the association with the consulship was likely to be a political invention of L. Macer meant to supply background for his explanation of the consular tribunate (Ogilvie 1965: 527). However, Ogilvie opined that the issue relating to marriage may be historical, as this addition to *The Twelve Tables* was likely to have appeared in the annalistic tradition. This shift in accepted social practice clearly indicated the incorporation of the plebs into Roman society.

¹¹⁸ While this is the generally accepted range, there has been a wide range of opinions on the specific date. Palmer and Richard argued for a date in the late 440s (Palmer 1970: 248; Richard 2005: 117), Ranouil suggested a date in the 430s (Ranouil 1975: 45, 75), and Forsythe put forward a date in the 420s (Forsythe 2005: 164–166).

¹¹⁹ See [Chapter 4](#).

should therefore be seen, in light of the processes of integration and unification occurring around it, as an effort in self-definition by the elite, and an attempt to reaffirm the exclusive status which had previously come as a result of their membership in a largely separate social and political system outside the *pomerium* of Rome.

De Sanctis was the first to present a detailed argument for a closing of the patriciate (*la serrata del patriziato*), and his basic hypothesis for the creation of an exclusive, hereditary caste among Rome's early elite has now been generally accepted, based largely on the evidence of the *Fasti*.¹²⁰ In particular, the *Fasti* indicated an increased political dominance by a small collection of *gentes* (which, by the late Republic, were firmly identified as patrician) during the second half of the fifth century. Although De Sanctis left the exact date for *la serrata* open (a point due in no small part to the problematic nature of the early *Fasti*),¹²¹ a mid/late fifth century date is probable. Indeed, as Cornell argued, the edict in the first iteration of *The Twelve Tables* which prohibited *conubium* between patricians and plebeians seems to present a convenient *terminus ante quem*, although the usefulness of even this date has long been open to debate, most notably because of its almost immediate repeal.¹²²

A wide range of indirect evidence also supported a closing of the patriciate at this particular point in Rome's development. While Latium's aristocratic *gentes* were able to maintain their identity and distinctiveness during the seventh and sixth centuries in part because of their mobility (i.e. those who traveled with a *gens* were, by definition, part of the *gens*), the increasingly sedentary and integrated nature of these social units would have removed this important defining feature, possibly resulting in an increased focus on defining what it meant to be part of an aristocratic *gens*. Crucially, the gentilicial elite's primary claim to power during the sixth and early fifth centuries, their monopoly on warfare, was also removed through the increased democratization of war in Rome at this time. In reaction, the sudden effort by the patricians to solidify their position at the top of Rome's new, unified society for the long term through a new hereditary distinction followed on naturally.

¹²⁰ De Sanctis 1956: 219–249. De Sanctis' main point revolved around the exclusion of non-patricians from the consulship, which presupposed a distinct patrician identity prior to this point. However, given the transient nature of Latium's elite (and indeed Latium's population more generally), the formation of a strictly Roman elite which could be identified with the patrician class is unlikely prior to the mid fifth century.

¹²¹ See Last 1945: 31 for discussion.

¹²² Cornell 1995b: 255. Corbett (Corbett 1930: 50), among others, argued that this was simply confirming something which was already a long-standing practice.

The continuation of the warband ethos

The integration of Rome's various groups into the city's military and political institutions did not usher in a complete change in the Roman mindset overnight, nor did it fully remove all the archaic tendencies toward personal armies. In 449, Lucius Siccus tried to generate military support among the plebs while the *praetores* were absent campaigning against the Sabines.¹²³ Also, in 449 Verginius reportedly arrived in Rome with 400 followers in response to the death of Verginia, an event mirrored by Icilius' arrival in Rome with a similar number of followers in the same year.¹²⁴ Further, the events which surrounded the battle against the Volsci at Ardea in 443 also suggested that strong, family-based military units were still the norm throughout Latium – in this case conflict was sparked by military struggles between two aristocratic families.¹²⁵ Additionally, Bradley argued that there is evidence for continued mobility of the Latin aristocracy during the period, although by the second half of the fifth century this type of behavior seems to have largely ceased at Rome.¹²⁶ However, as suggested above, Livy recorded that an Aequian called Cluilius controlled the Volsci at Ardea in 443.¹²⁷ Indeed, evidence suggests that some form of mobile gentilicial warlords was still in existence in central Italy as late as the end of the fourth century, as demonstrated by figures like the Fundanian Vitruvius Vaccus, who Livy claimed was a “man of distinction (*vir clarus*) not only in his home city, but in Rome as well,” and that he even owned a house on the Palatine,¹²⁸ or Caso Cantouius of Aproficulum, who, along with his *socii*, left a dedication of spoils in the late fourth century.¹²⁹

The irregular alternation between consular tribunes and *praetores* during the period between 444 and 391 also indicated that, despite the possible advent of a new, united political and military order in Rome, the archaic, early fifth-century, *gens*-dominated system was still in existence and indeed that it was sometimes preferred. The implications of these two systems co-existing are, however, not entirely clear. While it is possible that this alternation merely reflected a change in leadership at the top of Rome's military and political hierarchy, and not a change in the character of Rome's armies more generally, this is unlikely given the evidently different nature of the power wielded by the archaic *praetores* and the consular tribunes. Instead, it is likely that in the years when Rome selected *praetores* instead of consular tribunes, she reverted to the pre-existing gentilicial armies supplemented

¹²³ Liv. 3.43. ¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 3.50. ¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 4.9. ¹²⁶ See Bradley 2006: 165.

¹²⁷ Liv. 4.9. See Bradley 2006: 165 for discussion. ¹²⁸ Liv. 8.19. Bradley 2006: 165.

¹²⁹ *CIL* 12 1986: 859, pl. 2, 1.

by members of the population via a grant of *imperium*. What prompted this shift back and forth between Rome's traditional *gens*-based forces and the new patrician-plebeian forces is also problematic, as there are no obvious patterns in the sequence of magistracies. However, the frequency of years with consular tribunes, not *praetores*, did increase in the years nearing the end of the fifth century.

It has also been suggested that the early consular tribunes held office alongside the *praetores*.¹³⁰ One of the main arguments for this is the listing of consuls or *consules suffecti* for the same years as those in which other sources hold that consular tribunes were elected, most notably 444, the first year of the consular tribunate. Thus Boddington argued that the consular tribunes represented a supplement to the previously existing system, which gradually evolved into an alternative by c. 406.¹³¹ This would be entirely possible, given the model presented above. However, Frier has also convincingly asserted that the double listing of consular tribunes and consuls for 444 may have represented a historiographic conflict in the late Roman Republic, whereby two divergent traditions were combined.¹³²

The *stipendium militum*

The introduction of the *stipendium militum*, or payment for soldiers in Rome, an event often associated with the siege of Veii (c. 400),¹³³ represented another important point in the gradual shift away from *gens*-based warfare and toward a community-centered military force.¹³⁴ The payment or reimbursement of soldiers by the state illustrated that a fundamental shift had occurred from the early fifth century in how warfare was understood by the community of Rome.¹³⁵ The introduction of a primitive payment scheme, which was not necessarily tied to the direct acquisition of wealth in warfare, demonstrated that the state viewed warfare as being beneficial for the community as a whole, and not just the individual combatants, and was therefore something which should be supported as a strategic initiative. Additionally, this practice placed the state, as opposed

¹³⁰ Boddington 1959. ¹³¹ Boddington 1959: 362–363. ¹³² Frier 1975.

¹³³ Liv. 4.59; Diod. Sic. 14.5; Plut. *Cam.* 2.

¹³⁴ Harris argued that because Rome had no coinage during this period, the introduction of pay is unlikely (Harris 1990: 507), although he admitted that Gatti's hypothesis of a possible payment in *aes rude* (Gatti 1970: 131–135) is possible. Surprisingly, Harris seemed unsure about the most plausible option: payment in a systematic but non-monetary form (possibly grain or livestock).

¹³⁵ Brunt, analyzing Livy's description of the introduction of the *stipendium militum* (Liv. 4.59), noted that the *stipendium* was "not properly a wage but rather compensation for the expenses incurred by the soldier during service" (Brunt 1971a: 50).

to individual warlords or generals, in the midst of the network of patronage based on the acquisition and distribution of wealth related to warfare. Consequently, while the direct acquisition of portable wealth by individual soldiers remained a fundamental part of Roman warfare, it was no longer essential.¹³⁶ The introduction of a payment or reimbursement scheme also provides hints about the changing character of Rome's soldiers and possible shifts in the network of relationships which governed who fought and how often.

The first recorded use of the word *stipendium* seems to have been in Ennius,¹³⁷ meaning it was clearly in use when the Romans first began to write narrative histories, and, although Sallust used the word in relation to the regal period, it is likely that the word originated during the fifth century.¹³⁸ The term was used by Livy to refer to an indemnity of corn acquired from Veii in 474,¹³⁹ and while this particular instance may be an anachronistic interpretation of the events surrounding the war with Veii in the 470s,¹⁴⁰ it was this usage which is most commonly seen in later passages.¹⁴¹ This term was therefore very different from *praeda* and *manubiae*, which represented the booty acquired directly by the soldiers and the general in battle, respectively.¹⁴² Rather, *stipendium* seemed to have represented wealth which was acquired by the state as a result of war (or threat of war), but after the actual battle, as opposed to booty seized in the heat of combat. Boren argued that the *stipendium* acquired from conquered opponents may have been expected to cover the *stipendium militum*, after its formal introduction c. 400, hence the extension of the term.¹⁴³ Moreover, Livy noted that on certain occasions the *stipendium militum* was raised by means of a *tributum*, or tax, on Roman citizens.¹⁴⁴

The importance of the *stipendium militum* in the development of Rome's understanding of military goals cannot be overstated. This development is indicative of an increased strategic awareness in Rome, which is

¹³⁶ This stands in contrast to developments in Greece, where the acquisition of booty by soldiers was replaced by a standard pay/reimbursement by the 470s (van Wees 2004: 236).

¹³⁷ Varro *LL* 50.5.

¹³⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 20.7. Boren argued that Sallust was archaizing (Boren 1983: 428). ¹³⁹ Liv. 2.54.

¹⁴⁰ The use of the word *stipendium* by Livy in this context seemed to be the result of the acquisition of wealth from Etruria without active warfare. However, the language of the passage suggested that the wealth was acquired by the consul, Manlius, as opposed to the state itself: *Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperator (ibid. 2.54)*. It is therefore questionable whether this represented *stipendium* in the traditional sense, and not simply extortion by the consul and his army.

¹⁴¹ See Boren 1983 for a useful discussion of the origins of the term *stipendium militum* and its basic usage.

¹⁴² Boren 1983: 429. ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*: 428–429. ¹⁴⁴ Liv. 5.20; 10.46.

hard to identify elsewhere in the city's military activity. It indicates that by the late fifth century warfare was no longer always a knee-jerk reflex reaction to immediate military circumstances or raiding opportunities. Instead, the state's willingness to make short-term payments for long-term gains demonstrated an understanding of future goals and objectives which was not evident in earlier periods. Increased strategic awareness was likely part and parcel of an increased state control of warfare. Warfare, and even warfare which was nominally controlled by the state, had previously been largely dictated by the individual ambitions of the *praetores*, with the *praetores* determining which wars should be fought, at least offensively, and how the spoils should be distributed. The state's decision to pay the soldiers for their time in the field, irrespective of the outcome of wars, indicated that the state, and not Rome's individual aristocratic warlords, was emerging as the military "patron" in charge of distributing wealth; a relationship which would remain intact until the second century.¹⁴⁵ While the general's role in acquiring economic benefits for his soldiers remained an important issue throughout the Republic, the state's incursion into this area, which had previously been entirely under the purview of the individual war leaders, represented a shift in the relationship between the Roman state and its military forces.

The creation of the *stipendium militum* also had more concrete implications, in that it indicated that warfare was no longer strictly a pursuit of the rich and their followers. It is clear that the *stipendium militum* was designed, at least in part, to offset the cost of prolonged warfare for Rome's soldiers. This would indicate that at least some of them during the period did not have sufficient wealth to conduct warfare without at least some assistance or that the state needed to provide assurances for soldiers that they would not lose money if they engaged in warfare for the community. The implications of this were therefore twofold. First, it suggests that the previously existing system, which encouraged Roman men to participate in warfare through a *gens*-based system of obligation, no longer applied to all of Rome's military forces, and that additional assurances and inducements were now required.¹⁴⁶ Second, that the Roman ranks were no longer solely the preserve of the wealthy, but now contained a

¹⁴⁵ Boren 1983: 428–432.

¹⁴⁶ It is entirely possible, and indeed likely, that a similar form of assistance to the *stipendium militum* existed previously, at least in principle, as gentilicial leaders likely had a certain "duty of care" toward their followers. The most important aspect of the *stipendium* was that the community/state seems to have assumed this role.

significant proportion of men for whom the small amount of the *stipendium militum* would have made an impact.

The effect of even this basic system of payment on the capabilities of Rome's military forces is also significant. Under the previous system, warlords were dependent on immediate booty and spoils to offset the costs of warfare and to maintain the loyalty of their followers. The assurance of a certain level of reimbursement, or at least support, through the state meant that larger armies could be mobilized and stay in the field for longer without this worry.¹⁴⁷ The association between the adoption of the *stipendium militum* and the supposed ten-year siege of Veii is also marked. While the length of the siege is likely to have been a poetic comparison to the siege of Troy, some sort of reimbursement or support system would have been required to keep an army in the field for a siege of any significant length of time.¹⁴⁸

Rome's wars of conquest

One of the most telling shifts in the warfare of this period is in the evolution of Rome's military aims and objectives away from raiding and toward a gradual conquest of territory and a strategic dominance over the region. Although raiding remained a constant motif in Latin warfare throughout the period, Rome's interest in territorial conquest increased. This shift was also linked to, and is arguably indicative of, several changes which had been occurring in Roman society, including a gradual move toward intensive agricultural production and the changing makeup of Rome's socio-political structure with a new focus on collective goals. It is also supported by a series of structural changes which influenced both the Roman state and its military organization.

Continued raiding in the late fifth century

Despite the changes occurring in both Rome and Latium during the second half of the fifth century, it is clear that the practice of raiding which dominated warfare in the sixth and early fifth centuries still played a major role in the warfare during the period.¹⁴⁹ This is particularly true for the population outside of Rome, as the city was forced to defend territory against

¹⁴⁷ This impact of reimbursement of soldiers was clearly visible in fifth century Greece (van Wees 2004: 237).

¹⁴⁸ Cornell 1995b: 309–313; Wiseman 2004: 126–130.

¹⁴⁹ This was associated with the continuation of the warband ethos in Latium. See above in Chapter 5.

incursions from various groups, including the Sabines, Aequi, Volsci, Etruscans, Faliscans, Fidenates, Capenates, Labicani, and Bolani.¹⁵⁰ Rome also seems to have conducted several raiding actions against the Sabines in 449,¹⁵¹ which were recorded as being, at least in part, centered on small raids.¹⁵² In 436 the Romans raided the territory of Veii and the Faliscans, collecting booty “consisting of men and flocks.”¹⁵³ The Roman attack in 426 on the Veientes could be interpreted as raiding since Rome's forces were evidently dispersed and acting independently under the command of the various consular tribunes.¹⁵⁴ In 419, the Labici were recorded as raiding the territory of Tusculum.¹⁵⁵ In 413, Rome's forces mobilized to attack the Volsci, who had been ravaging the territory of the Hernici, but finding that the Volsci had left the region, Rome captured and sacked the settlement of Ferentinum, although they evidently did not maintain control.¹⁵⁶ In 406, three of Rome's consular tribunes are recorded as raiding the land of the Volsci directly.¹⁵⁷

Despite this evident continuation of raiding, Cornell has argued that the late fifth century did witness a general decline in this type of activity and of warfare more generally.¹⁵⁸ Between the years 442 and 411 there were only three recorded campaigns against the Volsci and four against the Aequi, which represented a marked decline from pre-450 numbers.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, the Sabines, who had been a regular opponent in Roman warfare during the early fifth century, and indeed since the time of Romulus according to the literary narrative, disappeared from the record after 449. It should be noted this decline may be the result of a defective record for the period, although Cornell's argument that the continued reports of “routine” events such as famines and plagues during these years, hinting that the decline was authentic, is compelling.¹⁶⁰

Conquest and colonization

While much of Rome's warfare during the regal period and early fifth century was defined by a mixture of constant warfare but a strategic

¹⁵⁰ Liv. 3.41; 3.51; 4.21; 4.31; 4.45; 4.51; 4.58–59. ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 3.41.

¹⁵² *Iam Horatius eos excursionibus proeliisque levibus experiundo adsuefecerat sibi potius fidere quam meminisse ignominiae decemvirorum ductu acceptae, parvaeque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei* (*ibid.* 3.51).

¹⁵³ ... *praedae abactae hominum pecorumque*... (*ibid.* 4.21). ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 4.31. ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 4.45.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 4.51. ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 4.58–59. ¹⁵⁸ Cornell 1995b: 309. ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Cornell argued that this decline may have been the result of the tribes, which had immigrated during the early fifth century and become the focus on most Roman warfare, becoming more settled and peaceful (*ibid.*: 309).

stalemate, the late fifth century saw Rome break this stalemate by means of a series of dramatic conquests, including the capture of settlements like Fidenae and Bolae, in addition to Rome's early rival, Veii.¹⁶¹ These conquests were the result of prolonged periods of conflict, and in many ways represented a continuation and escalation of previous military activity. However, Rome's actions after the conquest of settlements began to change. While previously the capture of settlements had not resulted in long-term changes in the strategic balance of the region, beginning in the late fifth century Rome began to exhibit an increased influence over captured communities, largely through the use of a new type of colonization.

The capture of settlements was not a new practice in the late fifth century, and the literary sources indicate that Rome had captured settlements during both the regal period and the early fifth century.¹⁶² Indeed, given the nature of early fortifications and their general lack of circumvallation, capturing many Latin and central Italian settlements may not have been a particularly difficult task for a determined army in this period. However, the early instances of this practice seem to have represented little more than the infrequent escalation of raiding, where the attackers did not stop at ravaging the fields and farms outside a community but entered the community itself. The "captured" settlements in these situations were typically plundered, but no further political or military domination was enforced, with the result that the settlement would eventually recuperate and return to its prior strength.¹⁶³

The reasons for this *modus operandi* were likely to have been two-fold. First, as argued above, the strategic aims of military forces during the sixth and early fifth centuries did not seem to go far beyond the immediate quest for portable wealth. While it is clear that gentilicial warlords were able to dominate individual settlements during the period, the type of power wielded by *reges* and *rex*-like figures in central Italy does not seem to

¹⁶¹ Fidenae (Liv. 4.17–33), Bolae (*ibid.* 4.49–51; 4.59; 5.8; 5.13; 5.16), and Veii (*ibid.* 51–23, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.13).

¹⁶² The archaeology for Roman colonization during the regal and early republican periods is ambiguous at best, given the absence of a distinctively "Roman" material culture during these periods.

¹⁶³ There is some evidence of this type of warfare in the regal period, albeit of a dubious nature, as Tarquinius Superbus is recorded as laying siege to the settlement of Ardea in 509, when Brutus began the revolt in Rome. However, the literary sources explicitly stated that Tarquinius Superbus was in pursuit of wealth and not conquest, and the revolt at Rome meant that he was unable to complete his conquest in either case (Liv. 1.57). Additionally, see Livy's description of the capture of Tarracina (also known as Anxur), where he noted that in 406 Roman armies "sacked the town, which long years of prosperity had filled with riches" (*ibid.* 4.59) and went to fight Veii, only to return to Tarracina in 400 (*ibid.* 5.12).

originate in this type of behavior. Like Greek tyrants in many respects, the gentilicial leaders of central Italian communities may have had to exert some military power to secure their position, particularly against rival clans, but seem to have required at least the tacit (and often explicit, through a grant or affirmation of *imperium* by the *curiae*) support of the settlement. One possible exception to the transient nature of early conquest is Porsenna of Clusium's so-called conquest of Rome in the final years of the sixth century, which has been advanced as a possible example of the early conquest of a community followed by political domination.¹⁶⁴ This was seen to explain the seemingly chaotic relationship which existed between Rome and the Latins around 500, with Rome seemingly the head of the Latins in 508, and then fighting against the Latin League at Lake Regillus in 496.¹⁶⁵ The hypothesis also assumed a coherent, state-based structure for both the Latin League and the local aristocracy, and presented Porsenna's domination of Rome as a possible reason for Rome's shifting loyalty. However, the organization and motivation of both Rome's gentilicial aristocracy and the Latin League is likely to have been based upon the more individualistic and ephemeral concerns of the Latin elite. As a result, Lars Porsenna is not a necessary factor to explain the constantly changing relationship between the Roman elite and the rest of Latium.¹⁶⁶ For the

¹⁶⁴ Most notably Alföldi 1965: 72–84. The thesis was also adopted and expanded by Howarth in his reexamination of the relationship between the Romans and Latins (Howarth 1997) and was presented by Forsythe as a possible explanation for the end of the Roman monarchy (Forsythe 2005: 148).

¹⁶⁵ See Howarth 1997: 31–81 for a detailed discussion.

¹⁶⁶ Trying to discern even the most basic organization and motivation of the early Latin League (c. 500) is an exercise in frustration. While the chaotic nature of Rome's relationship with the League is well attested in the literary sources (see Alföldi 1965: 72–84 for discussion) and has been generally accepted by modern scholars (although many have gone to great lengths to create models to explain this chaos, again see *ibid.*), the reasons for this confusion, and the evidence for the inner workings of the Latin League, were far more ambiguous. As noted above, the Latin League, or Latin Council, seemed to have been based, at least originally, on gentilicial and religious lines. While it is clear that the body was capable of a certain level of military cooperation, particularly in the case of invasion, there is little or no evidence, outside of the anachronistic testimony of the literary sources, to support the presence of an organized and exclusive institution, and even less to suggest a coherent or "statist" agenda. The most detailed evidence for the inner workings of the early Latin League came from the narrative of Tarquinius Superbus' rise to power and his subsequent struggle with Turnus Herdonius (Liv. 1.50; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45–47), a narrative which, because of the level of detail, is highly problematic at best. While many aspects of this vignette were clearly based on myth and late republican reconstruction (see particularly Ogilvie 1965: 199–200, who drew attention to the similarities between the capture of Turnus and the Catlinarian Conspiracy), it did contain some plausible features, most notably the fractious nature of the council and the evident independence and relative equality of its members, two characteristics which are not part of the typical Roman interpretation of the Latin League and which hinted at an agenda driven by individualistic (or perhaps more aptly *gentilicial*) concerns.

reasons already discussed, he was unlikely to have dominated Rome after his departure from the city.¹⁶⁷

The second reason for this approach to captured communities in archaic central Italian warfare was that, while the structure and organization of central Italian aristocratic *gentes* allowed warlords to control individual settlements, it was not conducive to the control of a series of separate settlements because the *gentes* lacked both the political complexity and the manpower to control a wide area on their own. This is not to say that *gentes* did not exert influence outside of their “home communities” as the various gentilicial alliances, of the Tarquins in particular, make clear. However, Tarquinius Superbus’ relationship with other powerful warleaders, like Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, evidently did not indicate a kingdom or an empire.¹⁶⁸ The closest example one can find of this type of gentilicial control of multiple settlements in the archaic period is Sextus Tarquinius’ control of Gabii during his father’s reign at Rome, although this instance is also obviously incredibly problematic.

The nature of warfare for much of the rest of the fifth century supports this general absence of political domination after military conquest. As noted above, Rome’s approach to warfare against communities in the middle of the fifth century, like her approach to warfare more generally, was still evidently based on a raiding mentality. In 468, the Romans conquered the Volscian settlement of Antium, but were forced to return in 464,¹⁶⁹ and again in 408.¹⁷⁰ This style of conquest is also seen in Rome’s relationship with the community of Fidenae which Rome conquered in the 430s,¹⁷¹ but the settlement was then left alone only to recover as an opponent in the 420s, when Rome was eventually forced to re-conquer the site.¹⁷² The convoluted events surrounding the capture of Ardea in 443 make it slightly ambiguous as to whether this should be classified as a conquest or liberation. Either way there is no indication that Rome

¹⁶⁷ Based on the unanimity of the tradition (apart from the defense of the Capitoline) it is highly likely that Porsenna did capture Rome (or at least most of it), although what this capture entailed is entirely up for debate. Additionally, although it is possible to argue that Porsenna did remain in Rome after his conquest, there is no reason to doubt the literary tradition where he left the city soon after his conquest to besiege Aricia (Liv. 2.14). Finally, given the gentilicial and religious organization of the Council, there is no reason to assume that Porsenna’s conquest would have had any impact on the membership of Roman *gentes* in the Council in and of itself (unless Porsenna required hitherto unrecorded oaths from various *gentes* to that effect as part of his conquest). Instead, it is likely that the change in “Rome’s” position within the Council was due to the absence, as of 509, of one of the region’s most dominant aristocratic warlords, Tarquinius Superbus.

¹⁶⁸ Liv. 1.49; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.45. ¹⁶⁹ Liv. 3.23. ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 4.56. ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* 4.33.

¹⁷² It is possible that the two conquests of Fidenae may represent variant traditions of the same event, as opposed to two separate conquests (*ibid.* 4.17–19; 4.33).

maintained an overt military or political presence in the settlement after the battle.¹⁷³ This pattern is mirrored at Bolae, where Rome defeated the Bolani and captured the settlement in 414, but failed to establish a colony and were forced to return in 413.¹⁷⁴ Terracina, which was captured in 406, once again became a Volscian stronghold in 402, was recaptured by the Romans in 400, and may have required further Roman military action in 398.¹⁷⁵ The overriding trend in Rome's warfare with settlements during the fifth century was therefore to capture, plunder, and withdraw.

Beginning in the middle of the fifth century, the general strategy with regard to captured settlements began to change, with Rome gradually beginning to exert more influence over captured settlements through the planting of "colonies" on captured land, although the nature of this shift is masked by the ambiguous nature of early Roman colonization.¹⁷⁶ The traditional, and still generally accepted, view of early colonization was that espoused by Rome's late republican historians, who saw early colonies as being very much like later foundations, representing "little Romes" planted in the landscape.¹⁷⁷ However, this view was based on a series of assumptions: that Roman colonization practices, and Rome's relationship with her colonies, remained roughly uniform throughout the Republic, and that colonization was an overt expression of a "state-centered" agenda.¹⁷⁸ These assumptions were expressed, either implicitly or explicitly, in the late republican literary sources, and were arguably supported by both the epigraphic and archaeological records for the middle and late Republic.¹⁷⁹ These tenets have formed the basis of most of the scholarship

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 4.9–10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.50–63.

¹⁷⁴ Liv. 4.49–51. It should be noted that the battle in 413 was against the Aequi, who had apparently taken the town after the Roman withdrawal.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 4.59; 5.8; 5.13; 5.16. The reference to a Roman attack on Tarracina in 398 is problematic, as Livy recorded that the Romans captured the town in his entry for the year 400 (*ibid.* 5.13) and then referenced a Roman army at Tarracina (Anxur) in his entry for 398 as background for his Veientine narrative (*ibid.* 5.16), but provided no details of what sparked the renewal of conflict as he did in other instances. It is therefore possible that while this later reference to warfare at Tarracina may have been authentic (and given the nature of Roman warfare during the period this is entirely possible), this may also have been the result of the convoluted chronology of Rome's siege of Veii.

¹⁷⁶ This shift in colonization during the late fifth/early fourth centuries is hinted at in Velleius Paterculus' description of Roman "military colonization," as it only began after the Gallic sack of Rome (Vell. Pat. 1.14). See Salmon's discussion of the problems with Roman colonization prior to 338 (Salmon 1969: 42).

¹⁷⁷ This was based on passage from Aulus Gellius, quoting a Hadrianic speech (Gell. *NA* 16.13.8–9).

¹⁷⁸ Bispham 2006: 73–75.

¹⁷⁹ See particularly Brown's interpretation of the settlement of Cosa, in central Etruria (Brown, Richardson, and Richardson 1960; Brown 1980; Brown et al. 1993). This work has recently been reassessed by Fentress, who suggested that many of the early features of Roman colonization identified by Brown actually date to a reinforcement of the colony in 197 (Fentress 2000: 11–24).

conducted on Roman colonization, and most notably Salmon's epic work *Roman Colonization under the Republic*.¹⁸⁰

In recent years the scholarly understanding of colonization has begun to change, moving away from the uniform, state-centered approach and toward a more heterogeneous model. Some of the impetus for this shift came from changes in the modern view of Greek colonization. In 1998, Robin Osborne argued that "colonization" should be abandoned as a term used to describe Greek overseas settlement, for it implied a level of state control which was not necessarily there.¹⁸¹ Osborne went on to argue that archaic Greek colonies should instead be seen as the result of highly mobile groups and individuals, and that such colonies were neither sent out by, nor had an entirely exclusive relationship with, their mother communities.¹⁸² Although Osborne opined that archaic Greek colonization should not be thought of as being like Roman colonization,¹⁸³ the impact of this new, "individual-driven" approach to colonization on the modern conception of early Roman colonization has been profound.¹⁸⁴

Armed with this new paradigm, scholars like Torelli, Bradley, Crawford, and Bispham have revisited the evidence for early Roman colonization and have raised doubts about many of the assumptions which underpin the orthodox view. As Bradley argued, while the literary records of Roman colonization were likely to have been based on official records, and can therefore be viewed with a certain degree of confidence, these records are made problematic by the consistently anachronistic outlook of Rome's late republican historians.¹⁸⁵ Late republican and early imperial historians had a very poor understanding of early colonial situations, and so they naturally tended to graft their own versions of colonization (the organized sending out of self-contained groups of settlers, oriented around an urban center,

¹⁸⁰ Salmon 1969.

¹⁸¹ The level of overt state control necessary for colonization to be thought of as "imperialist" is debatable. Said argued, in his epic work *Culture and Imperialism* (Said 1993), that culture and imperialism were inexorably linked, thereby making all colonization, no matter how independent politically, imperialist by nature. However, despite Said's explicit use of Foucault's arguments in his model (*ibid.*: 278), Foucault actually subordinated the power of empire within a polyvalent, circular diagram of power using the Roman model of colonization and interaction as his example (Foucault 1977: 205). Spanos therefore argued that while Said's model of colonization and power may hold true in some cases, it is not universal, and modern colonization should be separated from ancient variations and the power relationship inherent in many modern views of colonization should be reexamined, as it may reflect postcolonial and indeed postmodern biases (Spanos 1996: 148).

¹⁸² Osborne 1998: 251–269. See Bispham 2006: 73–160 for discussion.

¹⁸³ Bispham 2006: 126–127.

¹⁸⁴ This Greek/Roman circularity is similar to the process which has influenced the Greek/Italic hoplite debate (see Chapter 3).

¹⁸⁵ Bradley 2006: 163.

and usually with a strategic mission) onto archaic practices.¹⁸⁶ Additionally, as Bispham has argued, much of the evidence for early colonization is likely “synthetic and synchronic, and may thus be misleading.”¹⁸⁷ For instance, the collection of ancient rituals associated with the foundation of a colony, often used as evidence for the antiquity of the practice, seem to have been derived from a variety of later sources, most notably Plutarch’s *Life of Romulus*, which was itself an attempt to explain later practices.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, while colonies bearing a marked resemblance to Rome, with a Capitulum temple (three *cellae*) and similar local government installations, were a feature of second and first century Italy, the first recorded description of colonies as representing “little Romes” was attributed to the Antonine writer Aulus Gellius.¹⁸⁹ Additionally, Bispham demonstrated that a late republican bias has also been read into the archaeological evidence by modern scholars, citing particularly the excavations at Cosa, where hindsight bias may have influenced the interpretation of the finds for early community. The fragmented nature of Roman society during the early Republic must also be considered when attempting to construct a model of early colonization. Indeed, as Bradley has argued, Rome may actually have lacked the coherent self-identity necessary to replicate herself in the form of colonies at this point in time. He posited that many aspects of early Roman colonization were therefore largely driven by individuals, with the form and function of the colony (at least pre-338 colonies) having been almost entirely dependent on its unique social, political, and geographic context.¹⁹⁰ As a result, while the state-centered understanding of early Roman colonization has yet to be fully abandoned, particularly for the middle and later Republic,¹⁹¹ a more nuanced model has increasingly prevailed for the earlier period.¹⁹²

When viewed through this lens, what is immediately apparent about early Roman colonization practices is their diversity.¹⁹³ The earliest form of Roman colonization seemed to have been part of a larger central Italian cultural practice stretching back to the Bronze Age,¹⁹⁴ in which settlements spawned daughter colonies as a means to alleviate population pressures in

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 163. ¹⁸⁷ Bispham 2006: 73–160. ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 75.

¹⁸⁹ This is derived from Aulus Gellius’ record of a Hadrianic speech (Gell. *NA* 16.13.8–9).

¹⁹⁰ Bradley 2006: 161–187. ¹⁹¹ See, for instance, Torelli 1999.

¹⁹² See, for instance, Northwood’s recent work on Asconius’ colony list (Northwood 2008: 353–356).

¹⁹³ This stands in contrast to the traditional view, espoused by Salmon (Salmon 1969), which saw all pre-338 colonies as part of a single type of colonization practice.

¹⁹⁴ For colonization among the Aequians see Liv. 4.49, for the Etruscans see Liv. 5.33, for the Volscians see Liv. 7.27, for the Umbrians see Strabo 5.1.10, for the Lucanians see Strabo 6.1.3 and Athenaeus 14.31. See also Salmon 1955: 63–64 for discussion. Torelli also argued that parallels to early Roman

specific regions and communities,¹⁹⁵ or simply to accommodate the whims of more mobile kinship units.¹⁹⁶ Torelli argued that this early type of colonization was driven and dictated by individuals or clan leaders.¹⁹⁷ This in turn led Bradley to argue that they should be seen as part of the larger movement of individuals and *gentes* throughout central Italy, similar to that evidenced by figures such as Macstarna, the Tarquinii, and the Claudii.¹⁹⁸ These early pseudo-colonies presumably maintained some social and cultural links with their parent communities, if indeed they should be considered as such given the loose connection and mobility of the clans, but did not maintain strong political or military associations of the kind which Rome maintained with her colonies founded during the late republican and imperial periods.¹⁹⁹ The ephemeral association between early pseudo-colonies and mother communities during the sixth and fifth centuries may have been the result of the loose conception of ethnic difference and civic identity during the period, particularly among the *gentes*.²⁰⁰ As argued above, during the sixth and fifth centuries central Italy's mobile *gentes* were able to travel from settlement to settlement, or region to region, without any social, civic, or ethnic impediments and retaining their social and economic standing, indicating that the civic and ethnic identities which came to dominate central Italy in later periods had yet to solidify. As a result, it is entirely uncertain if these early colonists, if (again) this loaded term can be used in this instance, would have identified themselves as "Roman" after they left the confines of the city.²⁰¹ Indeed, after a few generations, daughter colonies seem to have represented completely independent

colonization can be sought in Etruscan colonization during the late archaic period, particularly in the region of the Po. Torelli claimed that the wave of Etruscan colonization in the Po valley, although sponsored by Perugia and Volaterrae, was led by individual *gentes* and had the formal aim of reproducing the urban features of their mother communities within a religious league similar to the League of *XII populi Etruscae* (Torelli 1999: 18).

¹⁹⁵ The most prominent example of this was the *ver sacrum*, which was the ritual response to famine or another crisis in much of central Italy. In a year in which a major crisis occurred, all the produce would be sacrificed to Mars. Animals were slaughtered, but children would be spared and labeled *sacra*. When they had reached maturity, they would be sent out to fend for themselves, following a wild animal until it stopped and there setting up a new community (Cornell 1995b: 305). See Dilke 1992: 31–46 for further discussion of early central Italian colonization practices. See Alföldi 1965: 5 for early Latin practices, and Salmon 1967: 36–37 for a description of Samnite colonization practices which illustrated the importance of religion as a motivation for colonization.

¹⁹⁶ Torelli 1999: 16. Torelli's argument for the warlike character of this colonization is unsubstantiated.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 16–18. ¹⁹⁸ Bradley 2006: 164–165, 168.

¹⁹⁹ See Salmon 1969: 82–91 for Roman colonization through the third century. See also Mackendrick 1952, Brown 1980, Dilke 1992, Bradley, Wilson, and Bispham 2006.

²⁰⁰ See Bradley's arguments to this effect (Bradley 2006: 167).

²⁰¹ Torelli argued this can be seen in the uncertainty between *Latinitas* and *Romanitas* of some archaic colonies, most notably Velitrae (Torelli 1999: 18).

entities and were capable of rivaling their parent settlements, as did Rome to her traditional mother community in the Alban Hills.²⁰²

Rome's relationship with Fidenae represents a good example of the behavior of these early pseudo-colonies. The literary sources claimed that a colony was founded at Fidenae prior to 500;²⁰³ however, by the 430s the settlement was evidently independent of Rome and indeed a military rival until it was subjugated in the 420s. This image of early Roman colonization is evident in almost all of Rome's colonies founded prior to 450. Signia was traditionally founded at the same time as the colony of Circeii, during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.²⁰⁴ However, it was not mentioned as part of Polybius' list of settlements controlled by Rome in the treaty between Rome and Carthage dated by that writer to the first year of the Republic.²⁰⁵ Additionally, Signia seemed to have offered little help to Rome during her conflicts against the Volsci in the early fifth century, despite its position near Volscian land. The colony of Circeii is slightly more problematic. While it was supposedly founded during the late sixth century, Livy reported that in the year 488 the Roman exile Gnaeus Marcius expelled the Roman colonists and returned the settlement to the Volsci.²⁰⁶ This may have been an authentic occurrence, but it is possible that this represented Livy's misinterpretation of a revolt by the colony. The colony was not mentioned again by name until Livy's entry for 385,²⁰⁷ and Salmon argued that Livy's reference to a colony being planted in Volscian land in 393 alluded to the re-foundation of this settlement.²⁰⁸ Velitrae was supposedly colonized in 494,²⁰⁹ but both Livy and Dionysius claimed that it was expanded or re-founded in 491,²¹⁰ and again in 404.²¹¹ Although the

²⁰² See Cornell 1995b: 48–58.

²⁰³ Liv. 1.27; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.53. See Salmon 1953 for discussion. While this regal foundation may have been slightly problematic, given the relatively unofficial nature of early Roman "colonization," it is possible (and indeed likely) that Fidenae had received some Romans prior to 500.

²⁰⁴ Liv. 1.56.

²⁰⁵ Polyb. 3.22. It is likely that Polybius' interpretation of this treaty, which he claimed to have seen, had a strong bias and may have overstated Rome's control over Latium during this early period. However, the fact that Signia was not mentioned in this early document, while her sister colony Circeii was, indicated that Signia may have been more independent from Rome, a remarkable feat considering how recently the site had been colonized.

²⁰⁶ *Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit libramque eam urbem Volscis tradidit* (Liv. 2.39).

²⁰⁷ Liv. 6.12. ²⁰⁸ Salmon 1937.

²⁰⁹ Liv. 2.30; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.42. Livy and Dionysius both simply recorded the capture of the settlement in this year, but later entries (see below) indicated that they assumed a colony was founded at this time.

²¹⁰ Liv. 2.34; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.12.

²¹¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.34. See Ashby 1913 for a discussion of the evidence, both literary and archaeological, for settlement at the site of Velitrae.

settlement was supposedly a colony, it seemed to have been capable of revolt even as late as the early fourth century, and the Romans were forced to storm the settlement in 380.²¹² The colony of Antium, supposedly founded in 467, was already “in revolt” by 464.²¹³ The settlement again presented a military threat to Rome in 461,²¹⁴ and once more in 406.²¹⁵ Cora, which was described as a *colonia Latina* in Livy’s account of the year 503, revolted to the Aurunci,²¹⁶ and hostages were taken by Rome in 495.²¹⁷ Only for the colony of Norba, colonized in 492, do the literary sources present an entirely clean record, although the absence of evidence for military activity against Rome should not necessarily be taken as indicative of complete submission or a strong association. Therefore, despite the references to “colonies” being founded prior to 450, it is clear that these foundations often represented essentially independent settlements during the early fifth century, and their relationship to Rome may have been more akin to the relationship between early Greek colonies and their mother communities than that which existed between Rome and her post-338 colonies.²¹⁸

Although it is difficult to discern any concrete changes in Rome’s colonization practices prior to 338, particularly given the highly anachronistic understanding of them by Rome’s late republican historians, indirect evidence suggested that Rome’s relationship with her colonies began to change after 450, at least with regard to warfare and foreign relations. Most notably, Roman colonies founded between 450 and 338 (Ardea, founded in 443/2;²¹⁹ Labici, founded in 418;²²⁰ and Vitellia, founded sometime before 395²²¹) seem to have exhibited a much closer relationship to Rome than earlier colonies, evidently staying loyal until the 340s.²²² Additionally, many of Rome’s older colonies, which were re-conquered or re-colonized during the period from 450 to 390 (Fidenae in 426,²²³ Antium

²¹² Liv. 6.29. ²¹³ *Ibid.* 3.4. ²¹⁴ *Ibid.* 3.10. ²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 4.59. ²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 2.16. ²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 2.22.

²¹⁸ This relatively independent relationship could also explain the phenomenon of multiple colony foundations (Torelli 1999: 19).

²¹⁹ Liv. 4.11.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* 4.47. See Salmon 1937 for discussion of this particular colonization, and the general disagreement over its veracity (for instance, Mommsen removed it from his list of Latin colonies [Mommsen 1868: 349]).

²²¹ Liv. 5.29.

²²² This assertion is based on the absence of any recorded warfare between Rome and these settlements during the period in question. While negative evidence is always problematic, the nature of Rome’s early annalistic records, which recorded events like warfare, makes this absence notable.

²²³ *Ibid.* 4.34. It is uncertain whether Fidenae was re-colonized in 426, or simply destroyed. Cornell argued, based on Livy’s failure to list the colony in his entry for the year 209 (*ibid.* 27.9), that the settlement was destroyed (Cornell 1995b: 303). However, it is possible that it was re-colonized, but

in 406,²²⁴ Velitrae in 401,²²⁵ Circeii in 393²²⁶), also seem to have exhibited significantly more loyalty to their mother community than in previous years. This is not to say that Rome suddenly gained complete control over her colonial offspring *c.* 450, and it is clear that Rome continued to have problems with many of her colonies well into the fourth century. Most notably, Livy claimed that the colonies of Circeii and Velitrae, along with the Hernici, aided a Volscian force in 385, and Velitrae may also have assisted a Volscian invasion in 380.²²⁷ Livy also recorded that Antium acted as a base for Volscian colonization in the 340s, and Bradley argued that Antium may have represented a Volscian capital well into the fourth century.²²⁸ While these instances clearly show that Rome's relationship with its colonies was still strained in the post-450 environment, outright military confrontation seems to have become the exception rather than the rule.²²⁹

While the reasons for this changing relationship are uncertain, two concurrent trends in the late fifth and early fourth centuries hint at viable explanations: the changing character of Rome's military forces coupled with the changing role which colonization played in warfare, and the changing strategic environment of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. Beginning with the former, as Bradley and Torelli have argued, it is likely that warfare had always been linked with Roman colonization, as early colonization seemed to have been driven by the same *gentes* and *condottieri* that dominated the military sphere.²³⁰ As a result, when Rome's military forces underwent a significant reinvention during the second half of the fifth century, Roman colonization naturally followed suit.

One of the primary functions of early Roman colonization seems to have been as a means to distribute wealth acquired by warfare.²³¹ However, the nature of Rome's early military forces, dominated as they were by the aristocratic *gentes*, and the overriding focus on moveable wealth as opposed to land, meant that colonization as a result of warfare was often limited. Indeed, Roman and Latin *gentes* seem to have been more prone to moving between sites based on perceived advantages, as

did not have colony status in the year 209, as occurred with Antium and Velitrae, which were incorporated into the Roman state in 340–338 (Liv. 8.13–14).

²²⁴ *Ibid.* 4.59. ²²⁵ *Ibid.* 8.3 *cf.* 6.12.

²²⁶ Diod. 14.102. Livy claimed that this colony was founded in 395 (Liv. 5.24). See Salmon 1937 for identification of Circeii.

²²⁷ Liv. 6.12; 6.27. ²²⁸ Bradley 2006: 167.

²²⁹ These problems with Circeii, Antium, and Velitrae may also be explained by the indigenous population's Volscian connections.

²³⁰ Bradley 2006: 168. ²³¹ *Ibid.*

opposed to breaking up the *gens* to form a separate colony and attempt to control multiple sites. Of Rome's pre-450 colonies, only Velitrae and Antium are recorded as being founded after the capture of a settlement, and in both instances the "colony" went into revolt within three years of its foundation, indicating that the colonization of the site, if it occurred at all, was very superficial.²³² All of Rome's other pre-450 efforts at colonization seem to represent a decidedly more peaceful form of interaction, with either new settlements being founded or colonists (probably composed of one or more aristocratic families) moving to and integrating with a previously existing settlement, possibly similar to the movement of the Claudii to Rome.

While the underlying principle of colonization, as a means to distribute wealth acquired through warfare, remained relatively constant in the second half of the fifth century, the changing character of Rome's military forces resulted in significant changes in how this was put into practice. The formal inclusion of the plebeian element in Rome's military system seems to have altered both the composition and character of Rome's military forces, with the most important change for colonization being that the army was no longer composed of small number of powerful aristocratic *gentes*, but now contained a large number of only loosely affiliated members. This development, coupled with the steadily increasing focus on land as a source of wealth, meant that the distribution of land through colonization became a viable way to accommodate the plebeian portion of the post-450 Roman army.²³³ This was evident in the colonization record for the second half of the fifth century where, in contrast to earlier colonization, almost all of Rome's post-450 colonies were recorded as being founded after the conquest, or re-conquest, of a settlement.²³⁴ Thus, land became a new and viable form of military booty, in the form of colonies and *viridane*

²³² It is possible that some instances of early colonization in the literary sources were the result of the literary sources' anachronistic misinterpretation of the basic sequence of military activity, where colonization typically followed conquest, particularly in the case of settlements which were later known to be colonies, most notably Antium and Velitrae. It is possible that the sites of Antium and Velitrae were not actually colonized until their final conquest in the late fifth and early fourth centuries or, in the case of Antium, in the late fourth century with the creation of a citizen colony on the site (Liv. 8.14).

²³³ Livy asserted that there was still a strong link between the men who captured a settlement and those who were used to colonize it, as he claims that Marcus Postumius Regillensis argued that "it was proper that the city and lands of the Bolani should belong to those who had captured it" (... *dignum enim esse qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem arumque Bolanum esse* ... [*ibid.* 4.49]). However, this may also reflect some of Livy's anachronistic, late republican bias, where soldiers were the primary source of colonists.

²³⁴ The possible exception to this is the colony of Ardea, colonized in 443/442, which the literary sources recorded as being peacefully colonized.

distributions.²³⁵ However, despite this change, the archaic view of booty seems have been maintained because the spoils of war, in this case land, still went directly to the men who had been involved in the battle, and the right to distribute it still went to the successful general.²³⁶

While it is likely that colonies during the second half of the fifth century also maintained a strong gentilicial element,²³⁷ the inclusion of the plebeians within the army may also have resulted in their inclusion in subsequent colonies.²³⁸ The first of the post-450 colonies, Ardea (443/442), was founded the year after the creation of the censorship and two years after the first consular tribune was appointed.²³⁹ The inclusion of the plebeians in colonies would have provided a solution to the problem of how to provide booty to an army which had experienced a dramatic increase in size, particularly in an environment where the traditional source of wealth, portable goods, was in decline.²⁴⁰ The result of this development would have been that in the post-450 Roman foundations, colonists would now have consisted of a portion of people who had significant ties to Rome, as part of the traditional proto-urban and urban population, and were not based largely on the region's more mobile clans.

The second issue which may have further reinforced the increasingly loyal behavior of Rome's colonies related to the strategic environment of Latium during the late fifth century. The influx of new peoples from the interior of Italy throughout the fifth century put increasing pressure on communities in the region – a point evidenced by the early fifth-century *foedus Cassianum*: a mutual defense treaty between the various Latin communities in an effort to protect against the armies of tribal peoples, like the Volsci, which was attributed to the year 493.²⁴¹ At the same time, increased agricultural production, coupled with the decline of portable wealth and the coinciding increase in the importance of land, meant that small settlements had significantly more area to defend. As a result, communities which may have remained independent a century earlier now

²³⁵ This can be seen most particularly in the dispute over what to do with Veii and its land after the city's capture in 396. See *ibid.* 5.24–25 and 5.30.

²³⁶ Bradley 2006: 168.

²³⁷ It is likely that aristocrats still formed the core of Rome's post-450 colonies, as Livy claimed that the *triumvirs* who created Ardea in 442 stayed in the colony instead of returning to Rome (Liv. 4.11).

²³⁸ For strong patrician element in later colonization practices see Dilke 1992: 31. ²³⁹ Liv. 4.11.

²⁴⁰ See Bouma and Prummel 1996: 151–210.

²⁴¹ For the *foedus Cassianum* see Liv. 2.33. See particularly the impact of the Volsci on southern Latium, as Livy recorded that they controlled both Cora and Pometia by 495 (*ibid.* 2.22) and Antium by 493 (*ibid.* 2.23).

found it in their best interests to maintain military links with larger settlements like Rome.²⁴²

Despite the strengthened ties with Rome, the post-450 settlement populations should not be seen in the same light as Rome's post-338 colonies.²⁴³ While the populations who made up these colonies may have originated in Rome, they gave up any status they may have had as "Romans" and had become members of a new Latin community. As Salmon noted, during this early period of colonization Roman citizenship had "not yet come to possess that extreme value which it subsequently acquired,"²⁴⁴ and indeed it may have seemed illogical for colonists to have retained Roman status given how small a role it would have played in their new lives in their new settlement.²⁴⁵ But beyond even the practicality of remaining part of the Roman political matrix, these colonies represented part of a long tradition of settlement formation where independence had been the norm, and it is clear from the events of the late fourth century that the inhabitants of the colonies still viewed themselves as separate and distinct from Rome.

It should also be noted that despite the changing relationship between warfare and land during the late fifth century, Rome did not always follow up conquest with colonization during this period. For instance, the settlement at Bolae was captured in 415, and again in 414, neither time resulting in the establishment of a colony, although Livy reported that a measure to that effect was presented to the *comitia tributa* by the tribune Marcus Sextius as part of a larger set of agrarian reforms.²⁴⁶ In 413, the Romans took the settlement of Ferentinum, but merely sacked the city and then gave the settlement and land to the Hernici.²⁴⁷ In 406, Tarracina (Anxur) was captured but not colonized,²⁴⁸ a sequence of events which was repeated in 399.²⁴⁹ Perhaps most surprisingly, Rome's landmark victory over the city

²⁴² This idea was advanced by both De Sanctis (1907: II: 98) and Cornell (1995b: 304–309).

²⁴³ Bradley 2006: 171. The two earliest types of colonies established by Rome were not differentiated in the later literary sources, unlike the pre-338 colonies (the *priscoe Latinae coloniae*) and the post-338 colonies (*Latinae coloniae*, *coloniae maritimae*, etc.), as seen in Festus 276L. Indeed, it was generally accepted that Roman colonization "as properly defined" (App. *B. Civ.* 1.7; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 1.12) did not begin until after 338 (Salmon 1955: 63).

²⁴⁴ Salmon 1955: 68.

²⁴⁵ For instance, the right of appeal (*provocatio*) did not extend beyond a mile from the *pomerium* (Liv. 3.20; see also Greenidge 1896).

²⁴⁶ Liv. 4.49. This may simply have represented Livy's interpretation of variations in the annalistic records, where Bolae was recorded as being taken in 415, but the measure for a colony was recorded for the year 414.

²⁴⁷ ...*Hernici ipsum agerque dono datus*. . . (*ibid.* 4.51).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 4.59.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 5.13.

of Veii in 396 was also not followed up by colonization,²⁵⁰ although the literary sources suggested that an unsuccessful measure to this effect was put forward by the plebeian tribune Titus Sicinius.²⁵¹

The reasons for the variation in practice are unclear, although much of the rationale likely lies in the very practical aspects of the distribution of spoils to the newly expanded army.²⁵² Despite the evident changes which were occurring in both Rome's military and socio-political structures, portable wealth acquired from warfare continued to play a major role in Rome's actions with regard to captured settlements. Although land was increasingly attractive in this period, the majority of Rome's conquests continued to favor collecting and distributing portable wealth when it was available, something which is clearly evident at the capture of Tarracina in 406,²⁵³ and at the conquest of Veii,²⁵⁴ both of which were recorded as being very rich settlements after long periods of undisturbed prosperity, and both of which were remained uncolonized after their conquest. In contrast, a pattern emerges where colonization tended to occur, in the period between 450 and 390, in instances where an army was mobilized but portable wealth was either unavailable or insufficient.²⁵⁵ On these occasions land may have been offered as an alternative form of payment. Livy's description of the second capture of the settlement of Bolae in 414 clearly demonstrated that this lack of portable wealth was a motivating factor in the establishment of a colony, because he recorded a tradition in which the settlement was reported to have had less booty because it had recently been sacked,²⁵⁶ and it was therefore suggested that a colony be established.²⁵⁷ The settlement of Labici was plundered and then colonized in 418. In this case the literary

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 5.21. ²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 5.24–25.

²⁵² This hypothesis contrasts with the approach adopted by Salmon, who argued that the colonies were first and foremost military outposts for Rome, and only second a way to dispense land to the urban population (Salmon 1955: 64). However, Salmon's argument required a strategic foresight in the large-scale defense of Rome in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, when Rome's first "colonies" were founded and, given the highly mobile and ephemeral nature of the aristocratic leadership during this period, it is unlikely that this necessary requirement was present in this early period. However, in the fourth-century environment, Salmon's hypothesis becomes increasingly viable.

²⁵³ Liv. 4.59. ²⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 5.21.

²⁵⁵ It should be noted that colonization required only mobilization of an army, and not necessarily successful warfare. The colonization of Ardea, for instance, evidently did not involve a military conquest of the settlement, but only a military force operating in the region (*ibid.* 4.10).

²⁵⁶ Livy did not choose to believe this variation (*ibid.* 4.49).

²⁵⁷ A colony was ultimately not established at this time, although Livy's description of events indicated that this was seen as irregular and drew the ire of the army. His description of a speech by a tribune of the plebs, although likely full of anachronistic embellishment, made a clear association between the establishment of a colony and the distribution of spoils after warfare, and how the decision to not plant a colony was seen as being equivalent to withholding spoils (*ibid.* 4.49).

sources recorded that the campaign against the Labici and Aequi had required two armies, an army which had been defeated in 419 and had subsequently retreated to Tusculum, and a fresh force from Rome which joined up with the remnants of the earlier force in 418.²⁵⁸ The decision to plant a colony on the site, in addition to plundering the settlement, hinted that the available plunder may not have been enough to satiate the enlarged army. Although the capture of Fidenae in 426 was not explicitly recorded as the moment of its colonization, because the literary sources claimed that its colony had originally been founded during Rome's regal period,²⁵⁹ the community did exhibit the more loyal characteristics of a post-450 colony after this conquest, suggesting a foundation or re-foundation on the site at this time. Given that the settlement had also been sacked in 435, it is possible that the settlement may not have had sufficient plunder for Rome's army, as was the case at Bolae, thus providing an impetus for colonization.

Despite the possibility that the evident shifts in Roman colonization which occurred during the late fifth century were unintentional, these changes were to have a profound impact on both Roman warfare and Roman society. Salmon argued that Rome's first fourteen colonies (the *priscae Latinae coloniae*) were planted in specific strategic locations and were therefore considered to be of paramount importance in Rome's overall military strategy.²⁶⁰ While it is likely that early Roman colonies would not have served the military functions which Salmon envisaged due to their highly independent nature,²⁶¹ this does not exclude a military function. Although early Roman colonies should not be seen as direct extensions of Roman military power, the literary sources do record that allied forces still represented an important component in many Roman armies.²⁶² While largely independent, it is possible that Rome's colonies,

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 4.46.

²⁵⁹ Dionysius and Plutarch claimed that it was founded by Romulus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.53; Plut. *Rom.* 23), while Livy simply noted that it was a Roman colony prior to 500 (Liv. 1.27).

²⁶⁰ Salmon 1969: 42–43. Salmon's argument followed the explicit beliefs of the ancient literary sources, as Livy recorded that Ardea was founded with the specific purpose of extending Rome's strategic defenses (*ibid.* 4.10).

²⁶¹ Given the character of early Roman colonization up to this point, it would have been entirely uncertain whether founding a colony would have improved Rome's defenses or given it another military force to contend with. This occurred on several occasions, with Circeii and Velitrae allying with the Volsci in 385, and Antium acting as a Volscian base into the 340s (*ibid.* 6.12 and 7.27). See Bradley 2006: 167–168 for discussion.

²⁶² Most notably in the conflict at Algidus in 431, against the Volscian and the Aequians (Liv. 4.26–29), and possibly at a second conflict at Algidus in 418 (*ibid.* 4.46–47), where Livy recorded that the dictator Q. Servilius Priscus summoned forces from Tusculum, although these are said to have been the remnants of an earlier Roman force.

possibly as part of the Latin League operating under the *foedus Cassianum* or simply via more personal patron-client or gentilicial links, supplied some of Rome's Latin forces in her military activities, particularly given the location of these colonies on many of Rome's communication routes and near the sites of numerous battles. Despite the assertions by Salmon, among others,²⁶³ this relationship should not be seen as entirely imperialistic, but as mutually beneficial (as laid out in the *foedus Cassianum*), with both sides sharing equally in defense and the spoils of war.²⁶⁴ The foundation of colonies during the late fifth and early fourth centuries could therefore be seen as Rome indirectly strengthening its position within Latium, and creating closer ties with a range of different communities.

Conclusions

The period from 451 to 391 marked a time of immense change for Rome's military forces; perhaps more change than Rome had experienced during any comparable period previously. The armed forces, which had previously been made up of the *gentes* and the *populus*, were opened up on an increasingly regular basis to include the plebeians, or members of Rome's urban population who seem to have lacked a gentilicial association. The organization of Rome's military forces, which had previously been based on the archaic *gens*, began its gradual evolution toward the centuriate organization of the middle Republic. The system of military commands, originally derived from Rome's regal institutions, was supplanted by a new set of magistrates, the consular tribunes. The *censores* were created to help organize Rome's enlarged military citizen body, possibly signaling the advent of a prescriptive version of the timocratic system which came to be known as the Servian Constitution. Overall, what had been a federation of warlords and their followers gradually developed into a single, unified state and army.

The goals of the new army were also suitably community based. While raiding was still a common activity throughout the period, and indeed the army seems to have retained the focus on acquiring portable wealth, Rome did increase her focus on territorial expansion and introduced colonization as a product of military conquest. While this seems to have emerged from an existing central Italian tradition and was utilized as an alternative form of wealth distribution, it was to have a fundamental impact on the strategic

²⁶³ Salmon 1969; Harris 1990: 494–510.

²⁶⁴ See Liv. 2.33; Cic. *Balb.* 53; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95; Festus (166L; 276L). See also Baronowski 1988: 172–178 for discussion.

environment of the region. Rome's colonies, founded or re-founded in the post-450 socio-political environment, exhibited markedly different characteristics from previous incarnations. Most importantly, while still representing separate entities, these colonies retained a closer association with Rome, their mother community, and acted to expand Roman influence in Latium and reinforce its senior position in the Latin League.

*The Gallic sack, the rebirth of Rome, and the
incorporation of the Latins (390–338)*

The years between 390 and 338 arguably witnessed the birth of Roman republican society, and the Roman republican army, as we understand them today. The period began with the Roman defeat at the River Allia and the sack of Rome by the Gauls *c.* 390,¹ an episode which represented one of the darkest moments in Roman history and the beginning of what would be an abiding Roman preoccupation with invasion from the north by Gallic tribesmen.² Despite the magnitude of this event, Rome quickly recovered and mounted a campaign of aggressive expansion in the following decades. Much of central Italy was conquered during this period and Rome's influence began to extend outside of this traditional sphere, setting up a series of conflicts with other powers, notably one with the Samnite peoples which would last into the third century. By 343 Rome had gone from being a beaten community, forced to pay a humiliating and extortionate bribe by the Gauls, to being one of the most powerful polities in central Italy.³ This was followed by the Latin Uprising, which culminated in the final incorporation of the Latins into Rome's larger socio-political sphere and, perhaps more importantly, into her military forces.

The reasons for Rome's meteoric rise to power are obviously many and varied.⁴ Livy described the year 389 as marking the rebirth of the city (*secunda origine*),⁵ and while Roman historians writing during the late

¹ The Gallic sack occurred in 390 according to the Varronian chronology, but 387 according to the Greek chronology. For the purposes of clarity, the Varronian chronology (which has been used up to this point) will be used for dates throughout the fourth century. See Liv. 4.34–55 and Polyb. 1.6.1 for the most detailed descriptions of the event.

² See Rankin's discussion of the impact on the Gallic sack of 390 on subsequent Roman activity, and particularly Roman interaction with Gallic tribes (Rankin 1987). See also Williams 2001: 1–18.

³ There were evidently a range of traditions with regard to the payment of the bribe to the Gauls. See Liv. 5.49; Polyb. 1.6.1; Plut. *Cam.* 28–29 for relevant passages and Cornell 1995b: 317 and Forsythe 2005: 255 for discussion.

⁴ The resurgence of Rome depicted in the literary sources has not been universally accepted by modern scholars. See, for instance, Ferenczy 1976.

⁵ Liv. 6.1.

Republic may have still only had a vague grasp of events during the period, it is clear that they were right in recognizing this year as the beginning of an era of immense change in Rome. In the years immediately following the Gallic sack, Rome's relationship with the Latins and the fundamental character of the Roman state, Roman citizenship, and Roman territory all underwent dramatic reinventions as the community expanded to include new members and areas, and at the same time became more closed and defined. Roman colonization, which had already begun to evolve during the late fifth century, continued to develop and played a major role in Rome's increasing bellicosity.

As Toynbee once observed, military reforms often followed great defeats, and it is evident that after the defeat in 390 Rome's military forces also underwent some significant changes.⁶ In the still generally accepted model of Roman warfare, the fourth century saw the city adopt new equipment (most notably the *scutum* and *pilum*) in addition to making the transition from the hoplite phalanx to a new formation, the manipular legion.⁷ While it has already been argued that it is highly unlikely that the Romans ever utilized a true hoplite phalanx, the presence of *manipuli* in the army of the late Republic, albeit as vestigial divisions within the centuries of the legion, suggests that this later set of divisions did actually exist at some point and may have been formally introduced during this period. It is likely, however, that the introduction of *manipuli* in the fourth century represented a formalization of archaic practice rather than a true innovation. The period also witnessed the beginnings of Roman naval interests, which in turn required an increased investment in military infrastructure by the state, and the development of a military economy.

Perhaps most importantly, the fourth century also saw the beginning of the regular election of recognizably plebeian military leaders.⁸ These men, although undoubtedly wealthy and important within the community, had not been part of Rome's previously existing military aristocracy, based largely around the traditional power of the more warlike *gentes*, and were therefore entirely reliant on the community for both their military authority and their military forces. Beginning with their regular election to the

⁶ Toynbee 1965: 505–518. ⁷ Liv. 8.8.

⁸ The presence of plebeians on the early *Fasti* is still debated (see Cornell 1995b: 252–256 for an overview). However, as argued in Chapter 5, even if members of families which would later become plebeian were elected to curule office in the early Republic, the open nature of Rome's early aristocracy and the still emerging plebeian/patrician identities/dichotomy made these early names largely irrelevant.

office of consular tribune in the early fourth century, and coming to a head with the introduction of the consulship and the Licinio-Sextian rogations of 367, this development broke the long-standing link between control of aristocratic warbands and military leadership in Rome and so represented the true transition from warlords to generals.⁹

Finally, the period from 390 to 338 also witnessed the advent (and, ultimately, the transformation) of a new duality in Latium, that of “Roman” vs. “Latin.” Possibly as a result of the Gallic sack, the gradual development of a distinct and coherent Roman identity took a dramatic step forward in the early years of the fourth century, continuing the process of Roman differentiation from the rest of Latium. This process peaked in the mid fourth century when Roman and Latin interests increasingly conflicted, ostensibly over the defense of the region and the relationship with the Gauls. This led to a military clash *c.* 340, from which Rome emerged victorious and subsequently transformed the relationship with the Latin peoples which had fought against her, with the most obvious expression of this transformation being their fulltime inclusion, but not necessarily integration, into Rome’s armed forces.

The Gallic sack

The event which catalyzed this period of transition was the sack of Rome by Brennus’ Gauls in 390. The events of the so-called “Gallic Invasion”,¹⁰ which culminated in the sack of Rome, were relayed in varying levels of detail by Cato, Polybius, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Pompeius Trogus, Appian, and others.¹¹ Although these accounts often differed substantially in both detail and overall tone, they all agreed on a few fundamental points: that Rome was sacked *c.* 390/387 by a group of Gauls who had originated north of the Alps and had entered central and southern Italy in search of wealth and/or land.¹² Among the surviving sources, Livy offers the most complete explanation of the Gallic Invasion and the events leading up to the sack; something which may have been a result of his familiarity with the area, peoples and traditions of Cisalpine Gaul, being from the northern city of

⁹ Liv. 6.35; Plut. *Cam.* 39, 42; Val. Max. 8.6; Flor. 1.17.26. See also *MRR* 109–114.

¹⁰ Williams 2001: 100.

¹¹ Cato *Orig.* 2.5; Polyb. 2.17, 2.18; Liv. 5.34–35; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.10–11; Diod. 14.113; Plut. *Cam.* 15; Plin. *N.H.* 12.5; Just. 20.5–24.5; App. *Gall.* fr. 2.

¹² See Williams 2001: 100–139 for a discussion of the different literary accounts of the Gallic Invasion and the possible motive behind the variant traditions.

Patavium himself.¹³ Livy recorded that, during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (c. 616–579),¹⁴ Gauls under the command of the two nephews of Ambigatus ventured out from their homelands in southern Gaul looking for land.¹⁵ While one nephew, Segovesus, took his people into the Hercynian highlands (the upland districts of southern Germany), the other, Bellovesus, took his people south across the Alps. Once in northern Italy, Livy claimed that Bellovesus and his followers routed an Etruscan army near the River Ticinus¹⁶ and founded the city of Mediolanum—modern-day Milan.¹⁷ At a later point, a group of settlers left this community under the command of Etitovius and settled in Brixia and Verona.¹⁸ Successive waves of Gallic settlers then ventured farther south, with the Libui, Salluvi, Boii, Lingones, and Senones pushing further into Etruscan and Umbrian land, settling in the region which would become Cisalpine Gaul. Livy claimed that it was the Senones, the last of the tribes to venture south from southern Gaul, which made its way to Clusium and then to Rome,¹⁹ before heading even further south to take up service under the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse.²⁰

At Clusium, three members of the Fabii *gens* evidently joined the local forces and engaged in warfare against the Gauls; an event which Livy claimed provoked the Gauls into attacking Rome.²¹ While the reality of

¹³ See Walsh 1996:1–5, 45 for discussion. Williams argued that Livy's origin in northern Italy, an area which had maintained a strong association with the Gauls into the late Republic, meant that Livy imbued his narrative of the Gallic Invasion with a decidedly positive tone (Williams 2001: 113–127).

¹⁴ Rankin argued, unconvincingly, that Livy must have been incorrect, and that these movements should date to the fifth century (Rankin 1987: 103).

¹⁵ Liv. 5.34. The similarity between the process of new settlement foundation practiced by the Celts, described by Livy, and that utilized by Italian tribes is marked, as both cultures sent out groups of young people who settled in specific areas based on augury and religious principles.

¹⁶ This was also the site of the first battle during the second Punic War to take place on Italian soil (*ibid.* 21.46), as the region represented the gateway into northern Italy.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 5.34. ¹⁸ *Ibid.* 5.35.

¹⁹ Livy's narrative concerning the motivations behind the Gallic attack on Clusium, an episode full of sex and intrigue involving the family of an Etruscan named Arruns, showed obvious signs of embellishment (*ibid.* 5.33; see Williams 2001: 100–113 for a discussion of the Arruns myth). The ultimate cause of this attack is likely to have been much more mundane, as Clusium (modern Chiusi) was located on the natural route between Cisalpine Gaul and the coastal plain of central Italy, meaning it is likely that anyone moving south would have passed this community (Cornell 1995b: 316).

²⁰ Justin 20.5.

²¹ Liv. 5.36. Livy claimed that these members of the Fabii *gens* had been sent to Clusium as ambassadors of Rome. Given the unlikelihood of Rome being aware of Gallic movements that far in advance, and the evident lack of any diplomacy taking place, the explanation for the presence of the Fabii at Clusium is highly improbable. However, given the traditional mobility of the central Italian aristocracy, and the evident ability and propensity of clans (and particularly the Fabii) to engage in independent warfare, it is possible that they represented a late example of an archaic warband which simply happened to be operating in the region. This may be supported, albeit indirectly, by

this motivation is uncertain, after defeating the forces of Clusium, the Gauls did evidently continue their march south, meeting the forces of Rome at the River Allia. The Roman army, which was led by six consular tribunes, including the three Fabii from Clusium in addition to Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius, and Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, was purported to have been made up of 40,000 men.²² While this estimate is likely to have been exaggerated,²³ the actual number was still likely to have represented a substantial force as the magnitude of the subsequent defeat was deeply etched onto the Roman psyche.²⁴

During the battle the Roman army was evidently spread thin in an attempt to match the frontage of the much larger Gallic force and was quickly routed,²⁵ with the remnants of the army fleeing to both Rome and Veii.²⁶ After the defeat, the Gauls entered Rome virtually unopposed (except for the defenses on the Capitol) and sacked it. The garrison on the Capitol supposedly held out²⁷ and the senate was reportedly able to

the actions of the Fabii during the battle as recorded by Livy (*ibid.* 5.36), where he noted that Quintus Fabius engaged the Gallic leader in single combat, killed him, and then despoiled his body in the midst of the battle, which indicated both a highly individualized style of combat and a clear overriding concern for personal economic benefit. Plutarch recorded that the *fetiales* were the most upset with the actions of the Fabii at Clusium (Plut. *Cam.* 18), which may have been a reference to the violation of their traditional sphere of influence in declaring war and peace, etc. However, as Wiedemann argued, Livy had a very anachronistic understanding of the duties of the *fetiales* in early Roman diplomacy (Wiedemann 1986). The *fetiales*, as an early Roman institution, seem to have worked in conjunction with the *fetiales* of other communities to help minimize warfare, and were therefore confined essentially to Latium (*ibid.*: 486), with only one reference to an outside group having the priesthood (a reference in Liv. 8.39 to Samnite *fetiales*), which has been generally disregarded as an anachronistic interpolation (see *ibid.*: 486 for discussion, although Salmon accepted its validity, Salmon 1967: 145). As a result, although the *fetiales* later evolved into a body which oversaw certain aspects of foreign policy (treaties, war declarations, etc.), they may not have been involved in ritual diplomacy with the Gauls. See Richardson 2012 for detailed discussion.

²² Dion. Hal. *Ant Rom.* 12.19; Plut. *Cam.* 18.

²³ Pliny gave the census statistics for the *capita libra* in 392 as 152,573 (Plin. *H. N.* 33.16), meaning that a force of 40,000 would have represented almost a third of the entire Roman free male population. While this number is possible, particularly given the fact that the army was commanded by consular tribunes who would have had access to a larger portion of the community than their early consular colleagues (see Chapter 5), the sheer size of the army at such an early period (for example, the large Roman army defeated at River Trebia in 218 also number approximately 40,000, [Polyb. 3.71–74]), coupled with the problematic nature of specific numbers from this early period, made it unlikely.

²⁴ The anniversary of the battle, July 18, was marked as “the Day of the Allia” (*dies Aliensis*), and was regarded as being particularly inauspicious (Forsythe 2005: 233).

²⁵ See Liv. 5.37, Diod. 14.114–115, and Plut. *Cam.* 18–19 for descriptions of the battle.

²⁶ Livy implied that proximity was the reason for fleeing to various cities, although it may have had something to do with the place of origin of the Roman warriors, particularly if the Roman army was still composed of aristocratic warbands working in conjunction with one another and a larger community-based force.

²⁷ There has been sustained debate over this issue. Skutsch argued, based on the work of Silius Italicus, that the Capitol fell along with the rest of the city (Skutsch 1953), while Horsfall (Horsfall 1981) has presented a convincing rebuttal.

negotiate a truce with the Gauls whereby they paid the Gallic leader, Brennus, 1,000 lbs of gold.²⁸ What occurred after this negotiation becomes slightly more problematic. Livy, followed by Plutarch, claimed that while the Capitol was still besieged the senate appointed the exiled Camillus dictator, who arrived from Ardea with an army and, after summoning additional forces from Veii, routed the Gallic forces before the ransom could be paid.²⁹ Diodorus offered a different version in which the ransom was paid and the Gauls left the city, only to be defeated in a separate battle at Veascium in 390 by Camillus, and the gold was then recovered.³⁰ Polybius, meanwhile, offered a third version where the bribe was paid and the Gauls simply continued on their way,³¹ a version which Livy actually seems to follow in a later passage.³² Whatever the reality of the sack, this was not the end of Rome's troubles with Gallic tribesmen, and the literary sources recorded that Rome continued to fight defensive battles against the Gauls during the course of the fourth century, although there were two contrasting images of how significant this warfare actually was.³³ Polybius, in his discussion of the fourth century, implied that the Gallic raids were part of a larger attempted invasion from the north,³⁴ while Livy indicated that they were simply raids for booty, although he did note that land was one of the items sought by the tribes.³⁵

Picking up the pieces

The impact of the Gallic sack on Rome is difficult to ascertain. Despite Livy's description of the city of Rome after the Gallic sack as a "smoldering ruin" (*incendia ac ruinas captae urbis*),³⁶ recent archaeological work in Rome has yet to reveal any conclusive evidence for city-wide destruction layers which could be associated with the period c. 390.³⁷ Furthermore, it

²⁸ This practice was common in Greece from the eighth and seventh centuries, where it is illustrated in the *Iliad* (18.509–513, 23.111–128), and down to the fifth century, most notably during the Persian Wars (van Wees 2004: 26–27).

²⁹ Liv. 5.49; Plut. *Cam.* 28–29. See Williams 2001: 140–184 for a detailed discussion of the literary traditions for the Gallic sack.

³⁰ Diod. 14.116. Suetonius recorded a version where he claimed that the Livi Drusi derived their name from a family member who killed a Gallic chieftain named Drausus in single combat and recovered the gold which Rome had paid the Gauls (Suet. *Tib.* 3.2). See Forsythe 2005: 255 for discussion.

³¹ Polyb. 2.18. ³² Liv. 5.50. ³³ Cornell 1995b: 325. ³⁴ Polyb. 2.18–35.

³⁵ This is particularly evident in Livy's descriptions of the Gallic "negotiations" at Clusium in 390 (Liv. 5.36).

³⁶ *Ibid.* 5.43.

³⁷ Cornell 1979–1980: 84; Cornell 1995: 318. Ogilvie noted that the excavations of the *Forum Romanum* revealed some damage (a layer of broken roof tiles and carbonized wood and clay) which could be associated with the early fourth century, although this was very localized (Ogilvie 1965: 751).

has been generally accepted that Livy's explanation that the haphazard and unplanned character of the city was the result of the haste with which it was rebuilt after the sack is certainly incorrect. If anything, this haphazard character argues for the retention of the organic arrangement which must have developed in Rome over the seventh to fifth centuries.³⁸ Indeed, it is surprising how many buildings from Rome's regal and early republican periods survived into the late Republic, especially private homes,³⁹ which suggests that the Gauls were more interested in acquiring portable wealth than bent on wanton, wholesale destruction.⁴⁰

Rome's manpower losses, while significant, also may not have been catastrophic. While the battle at the River Allia was undoubtedly a rout, Cornell, among others,⁴¹ has argued that casualties were lighter than expected, because the Roman forces fled almost immediately.⁴² The defense of the Capitol, if it actually occurred as described, must also have resulted in at least a few casualties. However, as Horsfall noted, the literary tradition indicated that the defenders fared reasonably well, although this may have been another instance of later writers downplaying Roman losses.⁴³ Overall, the evidence suggests that the physical devastation caused by the sack may not have been as great as the later Latin annalists supposed.⁴⁴ Indeed, it is likely that the Gauls who sacked the city had roughly similar, and generally limited, goals to Rome's own when her forces captured of settlements in the early fifth century. Booty was taken, and a certain amount of destruction was probably inflicted on the settlement, but no lasting damage was done to the community's infrastructure and it is clear that the victims of this type of attack could quickly recover their prosperity.⁴⁵ But, as Forsythe has argued, whatever the physical destruction caused by the Gauls, their activities in central Italy certainly caused considerable political disruption among the various socio-political

³⁸ Liv. 5.55; Cornell 1995b: 318. Forsythe argued, using the example of Roman rebuilding after the Neronian fire of AD 64, that widespread destruction would have provided the opportunity to impose order and coherent urban planning (Forsythe 2005: 254).

³⁹ Carandini 1990. ⁴⁰ Cornell 1995b: 318. For an opposing view see Rankin 1987: 103–109.

⁴¹ For instance, Alföldi 1965: 356.

⁴² Cornell argued that this indicated that the Romans knew, in advance, that the cause was hopeless and that the flight was actually a strategic retreat (Cornell 1995b: 317). This argument was first presented by Alföldi (1965: 356–357) and did seem to agree with the story of Albinus and the Vestals leaving the city prior to the Gallic arrival. However, if the retreat was not a strategic retreat, this immediate flight could have resulted in more than usual casualties, as a fleeing army was often at its most vulnerable. See Hanson 2000: 182–184 for examples from classical Greece.

⁴³ Horsfall 1981. ⁴⁴ See Cornell 1995b: 316–318 for an overview of the destruction.

⁴⁵ Cornell argued that the Gallic sack “did not seriously interrupt what seems to have been a resurgence of Roman power at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC” (Cornell 2000: 44).

entities of the region.⁴⁶ In particular, Rome's relationship with the Latins experienced significant changes during the first half of the fourth century, although the nature of these changes remains one of the most hotly debated issues of the post-390 political environment.⁴⁷

The crux of the issue has been the perceived conflict between the works of Polybius and Diodorus on the one hand, and Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio on the other. Livy, Dionysius, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio all argued for a model in which Rome, under the leadership of Camillus, quickly reasserted control over Latium in the years following the sack. Conversely, the works of Polybius and Diodorus, which on the whole have been considered more reliable, did not mention either the vast majority of Camillus' activities (as reported in the other sources), or contain any reference to Rome's "alliance" with the Latins.⁴⁸ As a result, the orthodox view, based loosely on Polybius' account,⁴⁹ was that Rome's Latin "allies" took advantage of Rome's weakened position and rebelled in the years immediately following the sack, and that Rome required the next thirty years in order to regain her hegemony.⁵⁰ Cornell is probably correct in his view that, given the nature of their accounts, very little can be legitimately inferred from the absence of information in the works of Polybius and Diodorus.⁵¹ This point notwithstanding, the interpretation that Rome required thirty years to reinstate her power also represents a gross misinterpretation of the Polybian passage, as the thirty-year period is merely the amount of time between Gallic attacks.⁵² Moreover, the nature of Rome's relationship with the Latin remains unresolved. As Cornell has noted, the evidence for a "rebellion" or "secession" (Livy used the word *defectio*)⁵³ by the Latins is tenuous at best, as this event was not marked by an armed uprising.⁵⁴ How then to explain Rome's increasing troubles with the Latins? Some have argued that the *foedus Cassianum* had simply lapsed (possibly after a period of 100 years), and that the military partnership which had existed between Rome and the Latins ceased to function.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Forsythe 2005: 256. ⁴⁷ See Ferenczy 1976: 73–110 for a detailed discussion of the debate.

⁴⁸ See *Ibid.*: 90 and Cornell 1995b: 318–319 for further discussion. ⁴⁹ Polyb. 2.18.

⁵⁰ See, most notably, Toynbee 1965: 372 for an example of this argument. ⁵¹ Cornell 1995b: 319.

⁵² Polybius simply stated that, following the sack "the Romans re-established their power and again became masters of Latium. Thirty years after the occupation of Rome, the Celts again appeared before Alba with a large army" (Cornell 1995b: 319).

⁵³ Liv. 6.2.

⁵⁴ Cornell 1995b: 322. Most notably, many Latin communities seem to have retained their ties to Rome (most notably Tusculum and Lanuvium), while others continued to be overtly hostile (including the colonies of Velitrae and Circeii).

⁵⁵ Cornell 1995b: 322.

Given the changes occurring inside the Roman state in the aftermath of the Gallic sack, this explanation may not have been far off the truth, although it is likely that the reasons for the lapse were markedly different from what is often supposed. Although the physical devastation wrought by the Gauls in Rome was largely ephemeral, the sack seems to have sounded the final death knell for Rome's archaic gentilicial state – at least in its fifth-century form.⁵⁶ Whether it was that the tribute imposed by the Gauls leveled the economic “playing field” between *gentes*/patricians and plebeians (particularly with regard to portable wealth),⁵⁷ or the recognition that Rome's archaic gentilicial warbands would have been unable to cope with future Gallic incursions led to a series of subsequent military reforms, after the year 390 the praetorship, which represented the traditional military leadership of the patrician state, disappeared from the *Fasti* until its reinvention in 367, and was replaced by the fulltime adoption of the consular tribunate.

As noted already, the consular tribunate seems to have represented the formal military union of the gentilicial patrician and urban plebeian populations/states, which had coexisted with the praetorship throughout the second half of the fifth century. The magistracy's fulltime adoption after 390 therefore revealed a distinct power shift in Rome's military and political systems toward Rome's nascent patricio-plebeian military structure. This general move toward further integration of the patricians and plebeians in Rome's military and political structures is further supported by the gradual ascension of the plebeian aristocracy throughout the fourth century, with office after office being opened up to them. This shift in military power is also mirrored by the creation of an increasingly unified patricio-plebeian aristocracy during this period, as initially identified by Gelzer.⁵⁸ Although the two groups clearly maintained their discrete, kinship-based identities, as Hölkeskamp and others have shown the fourth century saw creation of an integrated and fully “Roman” nobility which went on to dominate Roman politics until the end of the Republic.⁵⁹

The primary reason for the shift toward the regular use of the unified patricio-plebeian military forces seem to have been the Gallic sack and the threat of future incursions. In addition to the fulltime adoption of the consular tribunate, the impetus which this event provided is arguably also

⁵⁶ Cornell noted that the Gallic sack marked the intensification of the conflict between the patricians and the plebeians (Cornell 2000: 44).

⁵⁷ This is unlikely, given the evident decline in portable wealth in Rome throughout the course of the fifth century.

⁵⁸ Gelzer 1969: 27–44. ⁵⁹ Hölkeskamp 1987: 62–89.

demonstrated by advent of the *tumultus*, or *tumultus Gallicus*,⁶⁰ which seems to have originated in this period in connection with the Gallic attacks. The word *tumultus* was used regularly by Livy to describe a state of invasion or unrest;⁶¹ however, it only seemed to acquire its traditional meaning, defined by Smith as “a state which occurred when a military threat was viewed as so severe to warrant the cessation from all business (*justitium*), and all citizens were obliged to enlist without regard being had to the exemptions (*vacationes*) from military service,”⁶² after the sack when Livy claimed that “the dictator having, by reason of the Gallic rising (*tumultus*), proclaimed a suspension of the courts, administered the oath to all of military age.”⁶³ This inherently community-based exercise, where the defense of the city seems to have been the primary motivator, demonstrated an increased awareness of the community, as opposed to the *gens*, as the most fundamental unit of Roman society. The *tumultus* was later augmented by a 5 percent tax on manumissions, established in 357, which Barlow argued provided the state with funds to meet the cost of the *tumultus* (which was called in 361, 360, 341, and 332). This further indicated the willingness of the community to commit resources for communal defense.⁶⁴ It is therefore likely that Rome’s changing relationship with the Latins was a side effect of the other changes which were increasingly evident in Rome’s social, political, and military structure. Indeed, the reason for the lapsing of the *foedus Cassianum*, if this did indeed occur, was unlikely to have been simply the result of the passage of a specific period of time as suggested by Cornell,⁶⁵ although this is obviously an option, but rather because the patrician state which had agreed to the treaty, and the *gens*-based military forces on which it relied, was no longer dominant in Rome after 390.

Roman history post-390

The year 390 also marked a turning point in Roman historiography. As noted above, the history of Rome prior to 390 has often been regarded as suspect, in the eyes of both ancient and modern scholars, while the evidence from the years after 390 is traditionally seen as (at least slightly) more reliable;

⁶⁰ See Rankin 1987: 103–152 for a general discussion of the *tumultus Gallicus*.

⁶¹ Liv. 1.6; 1.14; 1.29; 1.48; 1.51; 2.4; 2.11; 2.23; 2.26; etc.

⁶² Smith 1872: s.v. *tumultus*. By the late Republic it had attained a more formal character, as indicated by a reference to the suspension of army leave on the occasion of a *tumultus Italicus Gallicusve* in the charter for the Caesarian *colonia Genetiva Julia* in Spain (See Walbank 1972).

⁶³ Liv. 7.9; trans. Foster. ⁶⁴ Barlow 1977: 292. ⁶⁵ Cornell 1995b: 322.

although, as Harris noted, this difference is entirely relative, and the evidence for the fourth century is still fraught with difficulties.⁶⁶ Most notably, in the introduction to book six of his *Ab Urbe Condita*, which began with the year 389, Livy stated that “from this point onwards a clearer and more definite account shall be given of the of the City’s civil and military history, when, beginning for a second time, it sprang up, as it were from old roots, with a more luxuriant and fruitful growth.”⁶⁷ The reason for this sudden change in the supposed reliability of the historical record for Rome is uncertain. Livy claimed that it was because the writing from the early periods of Roman history was “slight and scanty” (*parvae et rariae*) and that the only trustworthy sources of history, the records of the pontiffs and other public and private documents, were destroyed in the great conflagration of the city.⁶⁸ While Livy implied that this conflagration was a result of the Gallic sack,⁶⁹ some, including Holloway, have argued that the *incensa* mentioned in the text may have referred to a fire in the *regia* in 148.⁷⁰ While these arguments for a later fire remain largely unconvincing, most notably because the *regia* was not the only repository of documents in republican Rome,⁷¹ it did offer an explanation for the puzzling absence of any evidence for a large fire in 390 which could be the *incensa* which Livy described.⁷²

The best evidence for the origins of the theory that the history of early Rome was destroyed in the Gallic sack can be found in Plutarch, where he noted that “a certain Clodius, in a book entitled *An Examination of Chronology*, insisted that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls, and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear.”⁷³ Sherwin-White suggested that the Clodius mentioned by Plutarch was the first century Latin annalist Q. Claudius Quadrigarius.⁷⁴ Given the absence of archaeological evidence for a destruction of the city in 390,⁷⁵ it is possible that the tradition of

⁶⁶ Harris 1990: 495–498.

⁶⁷ *Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur* (Liv. 6.1, trans. Foster). Harris argued that Livy’s supposed disdain for the material prior to 390 would have been more impressive if he had acknowledged the continued lack of writing during the fourth century (Harris 1990: 497).

⁶⁸ Liv. 6.1. ⁶⁹ Oakley 1997: 345. ⁷⁰ Holloway 1994: 174.

⁷¹ See Culham 1989 for a discussion of the various public and private archives in republican Rome.

⁷² Cornell 1995b: 24, 317–319. ⁷³ Plut. *Numa* 1; Sherwin-White 1980: 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*: 4. Q. Claudius Quadrigarius was often abbreviated to Claudius or Clodius by ancient authors (Dittman 1935: 292). He also represented an important source for Livy (Walsh 1996: 115).

⁷⁵ See Chapter 6. See also Cornell 1995b: 313–317.

Rome's early records being destroyed by the Gauls during the sack of Rome represented a late annalistic explanation (possibly originating with Quadrigarius)⁷⁶ for the lack of official sources for the early city.

Plutarch's comments immediately following this attribution to Clodius are also noteworthy, as he noted that the events of history earlier than this period were forged in the interests of the great families. This indicated that while the official documents for the period prior to 390 were missing, this period was in no way a "Dark Age," but rather an era where family histories dominated over more "official," state-based records. Given the nature of Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries which has been presented above, and the changing character of both the Roman state and civic population, it is plausible that fifth century Rome simply had yet to develop the kind of elaborate documentation which was utilized during the middle Republic. As a result, the lack of official sources for the Roman state in the fifth century bemoaned by Livy and others may not have been the result of a fire, but rather the lack of a developed state and the associated community records in the pre-390 period. It was only with the creation of a more unified state and more centralized institutions in the later periods that these records became the norm.

The expansion of Rome

The period between 390 and 338 marked a time of rapid expansion for Rome, both internally and externally. The city, which had not seen much significant construction since the early fifth century, began a series of expensive and expansive building projects in the early fourth century, ranging from a series of individual temples to the massive, Hellenistic-style "Servian Walls." The city's citizen body also underwent a dramatic reinvention in the years immediately following the Gallic sack. The community incorporated populations from a series of conquered territories, and most notably from Rome's early rival, Veii. Rome's political structure also continued to grow, with various tribes being added during the course of the fourth century, most notably those on the *ager Veientanus*.⁷⁷ Externally, the move toward land-based wealth, which had begun in earnest in the late fifth century, continued to accelerate, as Rome

⁷⁶ Q. Claudius Quadrigarius evidently placed significant emphasis on the Gauls in his narrative, as he began his history with the Gallic sack of 390 and the extant portions of his work focused on this topic (the largest fragment of Quadrigarius was the account of the single combat between Manlius Torquatus and a Gaul found in Gell. *NA* 9.13).

⁷⁷ Liv. 6.5.

aggressively expanded her borders. Additionally, increased Roman influence in Latium and central Italy, largely through colonization, extended the community's strategic reach. Predictably, the institution of the colony also underwent significant changes during the period in order to fit Rome's changing socio-political and military position.

Perhaps as a response to Rome's sudden and dramatic expansion, there was also a fourth century reinterpretation of what it meant to be "Roman," where the clear line between Roman and non-Roman, so important for later events in Italy, began to be drawn. As part of the broader movement toward a communal identity, Rome began the process of differentiating her relationships with various outside communities and developing a distinctly communal ethos with regard to foreign policy; an early sign of which was the granting of *hospitium publicum* to the people of Caere. Additionally, Rome entered a new era of interaction with the other communities of Latium, dominating the region through both diplomatic and military means, which in turn set up the dramatic events of the Latin "revolt" of the late 340s.

Both Rome's expansion and process of self-identification were to have significant impacts on the character of its military forces and its approaches to warfare. Expansion opened up new opportunities for warfare, and offered the community the mechanisms and manpower with which to exploit success in war. Conversely, Rome's process of self-identification, and particularly organizational changes in Rome's armed forces, ensured that this military success was labeled as "Roman," rather than "gentilicial," and that the benefits which were acquired as a result of warfare remained with the Roman state, at least in theory.

Growth of the citizen body

In the years immediately following the Gallic sack, Rome embarked on a determined process of internal expansion. After the capture of Veii in 396, the literary sources recorded that Rome sold a large proportion of the population into slavery and then distributed some of the captured land to Roman citizens, following Rome's traditional practice.⁷⁸ After the sack of Rome, the state quickly conferred Roman citizenship on both the inhabitants of Veii and those who were settled on the land which had been seized by the Capenates and Faliscans; a move which Livy claimed was a reward for the support of a handful of pro-Roman quislings and something which had nothing to do with the sack

⁷⁸ Liv. 5.30; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.102. See below for more discussion.

of Rome.⁷⁹ This in turn led to the creation of four new tribes on the *ager Veientanus* in 387, the Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arneinsis.⁸⁰

As Cornell has noted, however, this explanation of events offered by the literary sources is entirely unconvincing.⁸¹ First, while the laws of *The Twelve Tables* indicated that slavery was an important part of both Roman social life and the Roman economy, the mass enslavement of Veii is likely to have represented an anachronistic invention, particularly given the absence of a market for such a massive quantity of slaves at this period.⁸² Second, Livy's assessment of Roman citizenship as a valuable commodity represents the attitude of a much later era.⁸³ Indeed, even the idea of Roman citizenship itself, at least in a form which would have been identifiable to a writer like Livy, seems to have been, at best, a recent invention of the early fourth century.⁸⁴ Third, the creation of four new tribes on the *ager Veientanus*, the same number of tribes which had been allocated for the entirety of Rome's urban population, indicated that a significant number of people were settled in the region, many more than Livy implied were given citizenship in 389. While it is possible that the population on the *ager Veientanus* was made up of those who had emigrated from Rome after the victory in 396 and who had been recorded by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus as having been granted virginal allotments,⁸⁵ it is unlikely that this would have accounted for a full four tribes. Presumably then, the creation of these units involved the mass enfranchisement of the previously existing population of Veii, as well as of the Capenates and Faliscans. Given these considerations, the character of this grant of citizenship and the creation of new tribes take on an entirely different tone. Rather than representing a gift to reward a few loyal foreigners, this grant of citizenship seems to have been an attempt by Rome to quickly and dramatically expand her citizen body, even if it meant including the city's erstwhile enemies.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Liv. 6.4. Cornell 1995b: 320. ⁸⁰ Liv. 6.5.

⁸¹ Cornell 1995b: 320. Although it has been accepted by some scholars, most notably Harris (1971: 41).

⁸² Cornell 1995b: 320. ⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Oakley argued (see also Humbert 1993: 91–98 and 123–135) that citizenship in Rome, and Latium more generally, was still an ambiguous commodity well into the second century, as when a Latin went to Rome, or a Roman went to a Latin town, and stayed permanently, he obtained full rights of citizenship. This indicated that, within Latium at least, citizenship was based largely on location. As a result, the right of voting in Rome was clearly a secondary development (Oakley 1997: 339).

⁸⁵ Liv. 5.30; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.102.

⁸⁶ Frank argued, based on census statistics, that these additions did not add significantly to Rome's actual population (Frank 1930: 313–324). However, the census statistics given in the literary sources are very scarce for the fourth century (only existing for the years 392, 339, and 323), and as a result, the

The reasons for expansion seem reasonably straightforward, particularly given the timing of the grant immediately after the Gallic sack and in the same year that Rome faced threats from many of the community's traditional opponents, including the Volsci, Aequi, and Etruscans.⁸⁷ Expanding the citizen body represented an effort by Rome to maximize manpower reserves in the face of increased military pressure.⁸⁸ However, in order to utilize the increased level of manpower, Rome needed to utilize the magistracy which was best able to command fragmented and multi-faceted military forces. Thus in the years after 390 Rome stopped vacillating between the archaic praetorship and the consular tribunate and relied solely on the latter, magistrates which represented a community-based approach to military power. Although Cornell considered most of Roman enfranchisement in the early fourth century blatant "imperialism,"⁸⁹ the arrangement may have also benefited the newly enfranchised populations. Given the location of the four new tribes in southern Etruria, these populations would have been increasingly vulnerable to the Gallic incursions from the north which characterized the fourth century. With the decline of Etruscan military power (primarily as a result of Gallic activity), it is likely that the people of southern Etruria would have been open, if not enthusiastic, to joining Rome in the defense of the region. As a result, the creation of these new rural tribes should be seen in much the same way as the addition of *gentes* in the early fifth century, when populations combined for mutual benefit.⁹⁰

This practice of increasing Rome's citizen body as a means of increasing her potential military might was not an isolated incident. Indeed, according to Harris, the continued expansion of Roman citizenship during the opening decades of the fourth century, particularly the grant to Tusculum in 380, played a large role in Rome's increasing bellicosity, increasing her manpower reserves substantially.⁹¹ The creation of tribes in southern Etruria was followed by later expansions, such as those which resulted in

impact of the incorporation of the population of the *ager Veientanus* in the 380s was almost impossible to measure, particularly given the changing understanding of Roman citizenship throughout the fourth century.

⁸⁷ Diod. 12.117; Liv. 6.2.

⁸⁸ See Salmon for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis (Salmon 1955: 63–75).

⁸⁹ Cornell 1995b: 323.

⁹⁰ This type of integration was unlikely to be either wholly hegemonic or entirely based on mutual interests, but rather existed along a continuum between the two extremes. Indeed, it is likely that each case of integration occupied an exclusive location on this continuum, based on its unique set of circumstances.

⁹¹ Harris 1990: 509.

the inclusion of the Pomptina and Poblilia tribes of southern Latium in the second half of the fourth century. It is noteworthy that much of this expansion occurred in the immediate aftermath of later Gallic incursions, indicating that the expansion may have represented, at least in part, an attempt at mutual defense of central Italy under the banner of Rome.

This development had profound implications for the Roman army of the early fourth century. While in the years leading up to the Gallic sack Rome was content to utilize either the archaic military system or the nascent community-based army, depending on the year, the events of 390 marked the end for both the archaic warband and the small, independent, central Italian community. Whether it was due to fears of the size of the Gallic army relative to the standard gentilicial warband or simply a result of shifting priorities among the socio-political elite is uncertain. It is clear, however, that the Roman army after 390 was no longer based on gentilicial lines, but rather on an emerging conception of being *Roman*. Indeed, Rome's gradually increasing military strength should be viewed in connection with the growing number of military tribunes, which rose (unsteadily) to six in 362 and, ultimately, to sixteen in 311.⁹²

Colonies, municipia, and maritime expansion

Colonization is traditionally viewed as one of the most important factors in explaining the expansion of Roman power in Latium and central Italy during the fourth century. As noted above, Salmon argued that Roman colonies planted prior to 338 served to reinforce Rome's frontiers and solidify her military gains during the fourth century.⁹³ Moreover, Harris claimed that it was the expansion of Roman colonization during the fourth century which played such a crucial role in Rome's ability to hold larger amounts of land and therefore exert increasing influence over central Italy, although it is clear that he was including Rome's post-338 foundations in this assessment.⁹⁴ Therefore, it is often considered surprising that Roman colonization in Latium experienced a marked decline during the period of expansion which marked the mid fourth century. While Rome was recorded as establishing four new colonies in the region during the 380s, between 380 and 338 there were no records of any Roman colony foundations. Indeed, Salmon was forced into a series of convoluted arguments to explain this decline, with "diminished military need," an "estrangement"

⁹² Forsythe 2007: 36. ⁹³ Salmon 1969: 40–54. ⁹⁴ Harris 1990: 502.

between Rome and the Latins, and possible “problems of administration and assimilation” all possibly playing a role.⁹⁵

The decline in colonization may have been problematic for the traditional model of Roman warfare and “empire,” but it should not have been entirely unexpected. At a time when Rome seemed set on expanding the citizenship base, the practice of colonization simply did not make sense. Early colonization, rather than expanding Rome’s manpower, actually served to reduce it, because the soldiers (and possibly the generals) who captured cities were often those who were also allowed to colonize them. Given that colonization seemed to sever all but the most superficial links between colonists and mother community during this early period, colonization was clearly not in the best interests of the developing Roman state. Additionally, despite the establishment of closer ties between Rome and the colonies during the early fourth century, these new foundations exhibited the same weaknesses which had plagued colonies in the fifth century, with both Rome’s old and new colonies regularly asserting their independence, and both often forcing Rome to reassert her control militarily.⁹⁶ Notwithstanding their often rebellious nature, these colonies did provide Rome with an increasingly powerful voice in Latin politics, even if only through offering an opportunity for Rome to become involved in the internal politics of Latin settlements. Indeed, these colonies paved the way for the later incorporation of the Latins into Rome’s military forces after 338.⁹⁷

The decline of Roman colonization in Latium did not stop Rome exploring other means of expanding her influence in the region. For instance, the first Roman *municipium* was established at Tusculum, traditionally in 381.⁹⁸ The creation of this new type of settlement, where the people of Tusculum were granted Roman citizenship in addition to their local affiliation and maintained a certain level of internal autonomy,

⁹⁵ Salmon 1969: 40–45.

⁹⁶ For instance Velitrae, which Rome was forced to retake in 380 (Liv. 6.29), and Satricum, which required several different Roman interventions throughout the fourth century (see Cornell 1995b: 323 for discussion).

⁹⁷ See Chapter 5.

⁹⁸ The date for the foundation of the *municipium* of Tusculum is problematic. Livy claimed that, after the defeat of Tusculum in 381 “they [the people of Tusculum] were granted peace for the present, and not long after were even admitted to be citizens” (*Pacem in raesentia nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt*) (trans. Foster). Modern scholars (e.g. Salmon 1969: 49–50) have therefore placed the foundation of the *municipium* c. 381. However, the evidence does not necessarily support such a specific date, and it is entirely possible that Tusculum was not made into a *municipium* until after the Latin Uprising c. 340, when the literary sources claimed that its status was “reconfirmed” (Liv. 8.14).

represented an attempt by Rome to find a new way to expand its interests by incorporating new communities, while attempting to circumvent any of the traditional centrifugal problems with typically arose with colonies. Salmon argued that the creation of *municipia* represented an evolution of the ancient practice of synoecism, where instead of physically joining together two communities, Rome joined with Tusculum politically and, perhaps more importantly, militarily.⁹⁹

It should also be noted that the general decline of colonization in Latium during the fourth century did not mean the complete absence of new foundations. Some of the most intriguing, and perhaps the most problematic, aspects of Roman expansion during the fourth century involve the foundation of Roman “maritime” colonies. The literary sources implied that much of Rome’s attention was focused squarely on land-based ventures, but the sources also contained a few fleeting references to an increasing focus on maritime concerns. Diodorus claimed that Rome established a colony in Sardinia in 386,¹⁰⁰ while Theophrastus mentioned that the Romans sent an expedition to Corsica during the fourth century with the aim of establishing a colony.¹⁰¹ Additionally, archaeological evidence suggests that the foundation of a fortified settlement at Ostia occurred between 380 and 350, although there is no mention of this in the literary sources.¹⁰²

Rome’s maritime activities, and particularly the possible establishment of overseas colonies, have caused problems for many scholars. Most notably, Harris opined that the attribution of a Roman colony on Sardinia to the year 386/385 should be rejected. He claimed that it represented a distortion of Satricum, which was colonized in 385/384.¹⁰³ Additionally, he disregarded the Roman expedition to Corsica mentioned by Theophrastus¹⁰⁴ and opted to accept Sordi’s argument that this expedition was likely to have originated in Caere, not Rome.¹⁰⁵ Although Harris utilized a variety of different methods to confront the evidence, the crux of his objection to these early maritime expeditions stems from the idea that the foundation of a colony was, by definition, a state-sponsored activity. However, if these maritime colonies are seen in the light of archaic Roman colonization practices, then it seems likely that these colonies may

⁹⁹ Salmon 1969: 49. ¹⁰⁰ Diod. 15.27; Cornell 1995b: 321. ¹⁰¹ Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.8.2.

¹⁰² Cornell 1995b: 321. See also Harris 1990: 501. While Ostia itself did not represent a foreign expedition, its position on the Tyrrhenian coast, at the mouth of the Tiber, illustrated the increased focus on maritime issues in Rome.

¹⁰³ Harris 1990: 501. See Alföldi 1965: 347 for additional discussion. ¹⁰⁴ Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 5.8.2.

¹⁰⁵ Sordi 1960: 94–97.

have simply represented aristocratic families venturing out, much as they had done during the sixth and early fifth centuries.

Rome's evolving approach to land

Harris considered that Rome's successes in the late fifth century, and particularly the conquest of Veii in the early years of the fourth century, may have helped spur on her desire for conquest and expansion.¹⁰⁶ He stated that the acquisition of so much land served "as a forceful demonstration to the Romans themselves of the economic consequences of a large-scale victory."¹⁰⁷ While the victory at Veii undoubtedly did help to catalyze Roman expansion, the seemingly insatiable desire for land which typified Roman military activity in the fourth and third centuries was likely to have been the result of more complex causes than this. Indeed, while the Roman acquisition of the *ager Veientanus* was the largest single conquest of land to date, it was only part of a much broader trend in Roman expansion stretching back to the early fifth century and which experienced its most significant developments later in the fourth and early third centuries.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, in many ways, rather than marking the advent of a new era of expansion, the initial capture and distribution of the *ager Veientanus* represented an archaic throwback. As in the years after 390 Rome's approach to booty acquired from warfare, and particularly captured land, continued to evolve.

During the fifth century and early years of the fourth century, Rome's approach to captured land was typically to distribute it to individuals, either through the foundation of colonies or viritane distributions, both of which seem to have imparted a high degree of autonomy to the settlers.¹⁰⁹ This was seen most clearly in Rome's military troubles with her own colonies during the first half of the fifth century, as already discussed. The literary sources recorded that this was how the land of the *ager Veientanus* was initially distributed.¹¹⁰ However, as mentioned above, after the events of 390, the *ager Veientanus*, along with land captured from the Capenates in 395 and the Faliscans in 394, was converted into

¹⁰⁶ Harris 1990: 498. ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 498.

¹⁰⁸ Rome expanded her territory by over 75 percent from the years from 495 to 396, although much of the expansion occurred in the final fifty years (Cornell 1995b: 320). See Chapters 3 and 4.

¹⁰⁹ The major exceptions to this were the inclusion of the territory of Fidenae (426) and Labici (418) into Rome's previously existing tribes, although both of these represented relatively small additions which already bordered on Rome's existing tribes. See Taylor 1960: 47–48 for discussion.

¹¹⁰ Liv. 5.30; Diod. 14.102.

four new rural tribes. Most modern scholars assumed that this transition of the land into rural tribes had the most significant impact on the new citizens, and not on those Romans who had been granted allotments.¹¹¹ Given the nature of Roman colonization and land distribution in the fifth century, this may not have been the case. It is possible that the Romans who were granted allotments on the *ager Veientanus* retained their Roman citizenship, as is assumed by most modern scholars based on viridate distributions in the late Republic, but this is not certain considering the ambiguous nature of Roman citizenship in the period.¹¹² Consequently, the creation of rural tribes may have represented a way to reclassify captured land as distinctly Roman, as opposed to independent, and thereby retain the Roman population which had recently settled there¹¹³ in addition to incorporating other peoples who were also living on the land.¹¹⁴

The move toward retaining captured land as part of the Roman state continued throughout the fourth century. Rome returned to utilizing colonization during the late 380s, founding Satricum, Sutrium, Nepete, and Setia in quick succession.¹¹⁵ However, the weakness of this system was once again made quickly apparent, and Satricum in particular was repeatedly taken and retaken until the year 346.¹¹⁶ In 381, the Roman treatment of Tusculum denoted a shift in approach, when the community was formed into Rome's first *municipium*. But it was not until the late 360s and 350s, an era of unprecedented Roman military success,¹¹⁷ that Rome's new approach to captured land took full effect. During the 350s and 360s Rome won dramatic victories against both the Hernici and the Latins, acquiring large portions of land in the *ager Pomptinus* and the Trerus valley.¹¹⁸ Instead of distributing the land or founding colonies, Rome attempted to maintain a tighter hold on the land by either labeling it *ager publicus* or immediately dividing it into rural tribes and thereby

¹¹¹ Cornell 1995b: 320.

¹¹² The creation of these tribes, and their supposed populations, has troubled scholars, as Livy's purported population (made up of the dissenters from Veii, Capena, and Falerii, Liv. 6.5) would not have provided sufficient population to warrant the creation of four tribes. See Taylor 1960: 48 for discussion.

¹¹³ Taylor argued that the tribes did not incorporate the entirety of the captured land, as some land must have been reserved for the native Capenates (*ibid.*: 49), although this failure to integrate the Capenates is not mentioned in the sources.

¹¹⁴ It is clear that some patrician families from Rome had been enrolled in the Veientine tribes (*ibid.*: 48).

¹¹⁵ Satricum (Liv. 6.16; Diod. 15.27), Sutrium (Vell. Pat. 1.14; Diod. 14.117), Nepet (Liv. 6.21; Vell. Pat. 1.14), and Setia (Liv. 6.21; Vell. Pat. 1.14). See Salmon 1953: 93–104 for discussion.

¹¹⁶ Liv. 6.8; 6.16; 6.22; 6.32; 7.27.

¹¹⁷ Between 361 and 354 eight triumphs and one ovation are recorded (Cornell 1995b: 324).

¹¹⁸ Liv. 7.5.

permanently associating it with the Roman state.¹¹⁹ Between the years 370 and 338 there were no records of Roman colony foundations, despite Rome's increasingly successful military campaigns, and captured land seems to have been regularly dealt with using one, or both, of these methods.¹²⁰ As Taylor argued, these approaches seem to have represented a new solution to an old problem. The territory which was integrated in this way was often that which had been "guarded" by one of Rome's earlier colonies.¹²¹

Both the classification of land as *ager publicus* and the creation of new rural tribes on captured land demonstrated an increasingly community-based focus for the benefits of warfare, although the motivation for this shift in how spoils were distributed was unlikely to have been particularly selfless or altruistic on the part of Rome's elite.¹²² The opportunity of exploiting public land by the aristocracy scarcely requires comment, and the necessity of the Licinio-Sextian rogation *de modo agrorum* of 367 indicated that it was the elite, and not the community, who were the prime beneficiaries of Rome's expanding *ager publicus*.¹²³ This new method for the distribution of booty, and particularly land, seems to have been a way for the elite, who no longer had a monopoly on warfare, to still exercise a high level of control over the benefits acquired from it. Thus, while Rome's community-based forces acquired more and more land, theoretically on the behalf of the community, it remained the elite who derived the most benefit.¹²⁴ The *leges Liciniae Sextiae*, which limited the amount of public land which could be utilized, may have been enacted in response to this phenomenon.¹²⁵

The introduction of the *ager publicus* on such a large scale illustrated a dramatic shift in the concept of the *publicus* itself. As Terrenato has argued, throughout the early Iron Age and down through the early Republic, private land ownership was largely unheard of, at least in rural regions, with most land being held collectively by clans.¹²⁶ The introduction of

¹¹⁹ The *ager Pomptinus* was classified as *ager publicus* after its capture in the 380s, and was later transformed into a rural tribe (Taylor 1960: 50).

¹²⁰ See Cornell 1995b: 322–325 for discussion. ¹²¹ Taylor 1960: 53.

¹²² It should be noted, however, that despite this transition and a new focus on land and communal wealth, plunder was still evidently a powerful motivator in Roman warfare during the fourth century, with Livy describing campaigns in 392 and 388 in terms of raiding expeditions (Liv. 5.32; 6.4; see Harris 1990: 500).

¹²³ Harris 1990: 503.

¹²⁴ It is clear that the plebeian aristocracy were also affected by this law, as Livy recorded that C. Licinius Stolo, the same tribune who had introduced the law, was fined by the state for violating it (Liv. 7.16).

¹²⁵ See Ferenczy 1976: 48 for discussion. ¹²⁶ Terrenato 2007: 14.

“state-owned” or “community-owned” land, therefore, demonstrated that the Roman state was gradually incorporating many of the functions typically performed by clans, although regional clans surely still maintained a grip on their traditional landholdings. Moreover, it is possible that even this began to change in the fourth and early third centuries, as the sudden emergence of small farms in the archaeological record for the period may attest – a trend mirrored throughout the Mediterranean, hinting at a new phase in the structure of land ownership in central Italy, in which “peasant farmers” who had previously been under the control of the local gentilicial elite acquired more control over the land that they worked.¹²⁷

It should be noted, however, that this new approach to captured land did not immediately replace the archaic model. Festus recorded that the dictator Titus Quinctus dedicated a golden crown to Jupiter in the temple on the Capitoline Hill in 380 with the inscription, evidently still visible centuries later, which claimed that “in nine days, he had taken as many towns, and on the tenth, Praeneste.”¹²⁸ Given that Praeneste remained a powerful and independent Latin community until the Latin Uprising c. 340; the settlement was most likely captured in the archaic fashion, without Roman acquisition of land. Livy’s account of the so-called mutiny of 342 claimed that the Roman forces in Campania justified their capture of Capua, and the establishment of a new settlement on the city’s territory, against the evident wishes of the state on the grounds that “why . . . should [the captured] land not belong to the conquering army, which had toiled and bled to drive the Samnites out of it?”¹²⁹ While Livy’s account of the mutiny is undoubtedly anachronistic, the depth of the narrative and the amount of time he devoted to the event suggests a strong supporting tradition.¹³⁰ Furthermore, the sequence of events, far from representing a mutiny, is more indicative of the traditional, archaic model of “colonization,” where the conquering army was simply trying to claim ownership of the territory it had conquered.¹³¹ It is therefore likely that, at the core of Livy’s narrative for the events of 342, there was an instance of a Roman army acting in an archaic manner, a situation which was eventually rectified by the (unsurprisingly plebeian) consul Gaius Marcius Rutilius, who acted on behalf of the state.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*: 19. ¹²⁸ Festus 498L; Boatwright et al. 2004: 77.

¹²⁹ Liv. 7.38, trans. Foster. See also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.3 for a parallel account.

¹³⁰ Oakley 1998: 361–365.

¹³¹ This motive was also supported by Dionysius’ account of the incident, where he attributed the “mutiny” in part to the desire of the soldiers for extra pay (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.3; see Oakley 1998: 362 for discussion).

The new Roman citizenship

Rome's changing approach to land and colonization is indicative of a fundamental change in the nature of Roman citizenship. While previously Roman citizenship seems to have been based largely, if not entirely, on geographic location, the fourth century saw the development of a new type of citizenship which was not dependent on living in a specific community, but rather on indicated political affiliation. This expression of civic identity was first evidenced in the creation of the *municipium* of Tusculum 381,¹³² where members of the community were granted citizenship *sine suffragio*, creating what Salmon dubbed the first instance of "dual citizenship," whereby members of Tusculum maintained both their local community membership and a Roman civic affiliation, albeit one which barred them from any political activity in Rome.¹³³ The *municipium* remained a self-governing entity, physically distinct and even geographically distant from Rome, but at the same time its citizens were also members of the Roman state. Roman citizenship then underwent even further permutations after the settlement of 338, with the creation of citizen colonies (Ostia and at the site of Antium¹³⁴) and *municipia* with citizens who were granted full citizen rights at Rome (*cives optimo iure*), which served to finally and completely sever the link between geographic location and community affiliation.

This new type of citizenship is indicative of a much more developed sense of state and community identity, where the community was transformed from merely a geographical location to a theoretical construction or, as Salmon expressed it, "soil" was disassociated from "state."¹³⁵ This development expanded the pool of citizens available for service in Rome's armed forces beyond the geographic limits of the settlement of Rome. While Rome's early citizen colonies were evidently exempt from service in the legions, they were required to protect the coast from pirates' raids, thus they played a vital role in the protection of Rome's coastal territories and maritime interests.¹³⁶ The military role of the *municipia* was even more pronounced, and the members of these communities were required to

¹³² As noted above, the date of 381 for the creation of the *municipium* of Tusculum is problematic, as it may not have been created until after 340 when it was "reconfirmed" in the aftermath of the Latin Uprising.

¹³³ Salmon 1982: 44–46.

¹³⁴ The settlement was evidently placed next to the Volscian settlement, which Livy recorded had its navy confiscated (Liv. 8.14).

¹³⁵ Salmon 1982: 45.

¹³⁶ Liv. 8.14. See Salmon 1982: 44 for discussion of the role of the colonies. The "wild west" nature of the seas during the fourth century is evident in the continuation of archaic raiding, even by Roman citizens.

commit to military service in the manner of full Roman citizens, although they had lost the right to have any say over the foreign policy which Rome's military forces pursued.

The changing tools of war

Both the literary evidence and the archaeological record indicate that the fourth century witnessed several important changes in the physical tools used to conduct warfare in and around Rome. During the sixth and fifth centuries central Italian warfare had remained largely the preserve of the gentilicial elite and their followers, and the equipment utilized during this period clearly reflected this.¹³⁷ Although aspects of archaic Roman arms and armor may have been at least partially derived from Greek hoplite equipment, a warrior type traditionally characterized by its adherence to a group ethos, the focus of archaic Roman equipment was evidently on the individual.¹³⁸ Designed to provide the maximum protection for the warrior, while still allowing for mobility, sixth and fifth century central Italian armor seems to have reflected a military ethos which was distinctive to the region. Archaic central Italian fortifications were also indicative of this aristocratic, clan-based, raiding-focused way of war. As noted above, given both the scale and aim of archaic warfare and the lack of cohesive civic identities in many central Italian communities, fortifications were typically simple affairs, designed to reinforce natural defenses and protect against quick raids, but rarely enclosing the entire settlement.¹³⁹

During the late fifth and early fourth century this all began to change. Many communities in central Italy provided themselves with substantial fortifications, a move epitomized by Rome's construction of the so-called "Servian Walls". Rome's military forces also witnessed a marked shift in both the nature and purpose of their military equipment, with the large-scale introduction of the Italic *scutum*, the *pilum*, and the "Montefortino"-type helmet, which represented simpler, less expensive, and more widely used equipment types. While these changes had a fundamental impact on how both individual soldiers and the army functioned, they represented merely the physical manifestation of deeper, long-term trends. For instance, the construction of large fortifications is indicative of the increasing control which central Italian communities, and particularly Rome, had over warfare. The transition to

¹³⁷ Military equipment was often elaborate, acting as both a means of protection and a symbol of aristocratic prestige. See particularly Stary 1981: 138–201 and Connolly 1981: 86–128 for examples and discussion.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 3. ¹³⁹ See Armstrong 2016b for discussion.

the *scutum*, *pilum*, and Montefortino helmet were the result of a wide range of factors, most notably the influence of both Gallic tribesmen and southern Italic warriors. But perhaps most importantly, this equipment shift was part of an increasing democratization of warfare in central Italy, with the *scutum*, *pilum*, and Montefortino helmet all hinting at the presence of a more egalitarian approach to military equipment than the archaic panoply.

The Servian Walls

Rome's so-called Servian Walls epitomized the new approach to fortification building which was adopted by many communities in central Italy during the late fifth and early fourth centuries.¹⁴⁰ Probably begun in 378,¹⁴¹ the walls generally followed the course of Rome's earlier sixth century walls,¹⁴² although this time fully enclosing the settlement.¹⁴³ The stone for the new fortifications came from the *Grotta Oscura* quarries in the territory of Veii, which both provides a useful *terminus post quem* and demonstrates how Rome was able to utilize captured territory and natural resources to her advantage during the fourth century.¹⁴⁴ Constructed using ashlar

¹⁴⁰ Any study of Rome's Servian Walls must also take into account the walls of Veii, which closely resembled Rome's fortifications in both form (*agger*, wall, *fossa*) and composition (*tuffo*) and large enclosure (the plateau of Veii is roughly 190 hectares, see Andersen 1997: 356). The walls at Veii are commonly attributed to the final years of the fifth century, although Holloway suggested that these too may date to the mid fourth century (Holloway 1994: 102).

¹⁴¹ Livy recorded that in this year "... but further debts were incurred through the levying of a tax to build a wall of hewn stone, which the censors had contracted for." (Liv. 6.32, trans. Foster) (*ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciendum*). Cornell argued that this reference referred to the start of building on the Servian Walls (Cornell 2000: 45). Merrill, however, argued that the walls may date to immediately after the Gallic sack, claiming that Livy's record of a building project in the year 388 (Liv. 6.4) may have indicated the start of building (Merrill 1909). It should be noted that the fourth-century date of these fortifications, although generally accepted, is not universally acknowledged. For instance, Holloway argued that the fortifications actually date to the late third century, working from the assumption that Rome could not possibly have occupied an area of 426 hectares prior to the Hannibalic War (Holloway 1994: 100).

¹⁴² See *LTUR* III: 315–334, V: 277–279, Blake and Van Deman 2006: 70–109, Claridge 1998: 355. Some (most notably Terrenato 1997: 419–420) have argued that the Servian Walls actually included tracts of the Rome's sixth-century fortifications.

¹⁴³ The exact line of this circumvallation is, however, still up for debate. Pinza's discovery of graves within the Servian Walls (most notably on the Quirinal) suggested that the republican fortifications on that hill date to after c. 300. As a result, Holloway suggested that during the fourth century, Rome's earlier fortifications farther down the Quirinal were simply reinforced and expanded (a point supported by archaeological evidence for building work during the period), with the traditional republican fortifications representing a third-century addition (Holloway 1994: 98–100). See more recently Bernard 2012 for full discussion.

¹⁴⁴ Cornell 1995b: 320. It was Frank (Frank 1924) who first cast doubt on the traditional attribution of the walls to Servius Tullius by noting that almost all of the blocks for the wall are of *Grotta Oscura* tuffo from the region of Veii, which suggested that they were quarried after Rome's victory in over Veii in the early years of the fourth century. However, it should be noted that *Grotta Oscura* tuffo

blocks, laid as headers and stretchers in a regular fashion, the fortifications extended a full 11 km.¹⁴⁵ Many of the blocks bore Greek masons' marks, indicating that the Romans may have brought in specialists from the Greek region of southern Italy (which represented a leading center in fortification technology) to help build them, reinforcing the Hellenistic nature of the construction.¹⁴⁶

The provision of this set of fortifications was a significant undertaking and Livy implied that the wall's construction was not complete as late as the year 353.¹⁴⁷ It represented a massive investment by the community in defense. A full 4 m thick, even today retaining a height of over 10 m in places,¹⁴⁸ and enclosing an area of approximately 426 ha,¹⁴⁹ the extent of Rome's new fortifications put it on par with the largest urban settlements in the western Mediterranean.¹⁵⁰ The reasons behind this construction were undoubtedly many and varied, with the community's fear of another Gallic incursion and the desire to increase the prestige of the settlement both ranking very high. For the present discussion, it is the decision to build this type of fortification in the first place which is the most important.

The construction of large-scale fortifications at Rome provides tantalizing clues to the changing character of warfare both at the settlement and in the region more generally. Ancient fortifications never had strict military significance alone.¹⁵¹ Many defenses never saw active military service and not all were intended to. While it should be acknowledged that fortifications were an integral part of a settlement's defense, their symbolic importance has been rightly stressed in recent studies of the subject.¹⁵² Thus both aspects are important and can reveal much about the nature of the military environments in which fortifications were designed to function.¹⁵³

was not unknown in Rome prior to the conquest of Veii, as the Lapis Niger and other (albeit isolated) stones were also from the same quarries (Holloway 1994: 92, 187).

¹⁴⁵ Cornell 2000: 45.

¹⁴⁶ The Greek letters on the blocks of the Servian Wall have long been an object of fascination (see particularly Frank 1918 and Frank 1924). Cornell advanced the plausible hypothesis that the letters represented the work of Greek specialists (Cornell 2000: 45). Holloway's suggestion, that the walls were constructed by "the legions," was clearly anachronistic (Holloway 1994: 92). It should also be noted that although these walls should be seen as "Hellenizing," they were still very low-tech as they did not incorporate the use of artillery.

¹⁴⁷ Liv. 7.20.

¹⁴⁸ Riemann's reconstruction placed its initial height at 40 Roman feet (Riemann 1969).

¹⁴⁹ Holloway 1994: 91. ¹⁵⁰ Cornell 2000: 45.

¹⁵¹ Creighton 2007: 344. See Armstrong 2016b for further discussion.

¹⁵² See for instance Maele and Fossey 1992: 17, 20, 211–220.

¹⁵³ See McNicoll and Milner 1997: 2–14 for an overview of the various strategic and tactical considerations involved in Hellenistic fortifications, of which Rome's Servian Walls should be considered a part.

The ashlar walls, which are the only part of the Servian Walls still visible today, formed only a single part of a much larger and more complex set of defenses (see Fig. 3.2). According to Riemann's reconstruction, in many areas, and especially across the relatively vulnerable Esquiline plateau, the tall masonry outer wall was backed by a broad earth *agger*, which in turn was retained by a lower internal wall. Walls and *agger* were fronted by a *berm* and *fossa*, the latter as deep as 55 Roman feet (approximately 16 m) in places. The combination gave an effective height of almost 100 Roman feet (approximately 20 m).¹⁵⁴ This type of fortification (*agger*, wall, and *fossa*) had a long history in Latium, with earlier examples still visible at Ardea, Decima, Acqua Acetosa, Gabii, and other sites. What is notable about Rome's fourth-century fortifications is not so much their style as their scale.

Holloway argued that both the design and the depth of Rome's fourth century fortifications suggested that they were intended to defend against siege warfare, and particularly the new siege techniques which revolutionized warfare in the Hellenistic world after 400.¹⁵⁵ Various types of masonry were suited to particular types of assault, with the large ashlar masonry used in the Servian Walls best suited to withstand rams, while solid, rubble-backed masonry was typically used to withstand artillery missiles.¹⁵⁶ Unfortunately, very few of the tactical features of Rome's early fortifications have survived. Those which have done are of questionable date because the Romans evidently updated their fortifications regularly throughout the fourth to first centuries. For instance, in a surviving section of the wall on the Aventine, there is an arched embrasure which Holloway suggested was intended for a small catapult or *ballista*.¹⁵⁷ However, given that it was backed in with *opus caementicium* and not earth, this suggests that the embrasure dates to the early second century or later. The first known use of concrete in Rome for a substantial public building was in the *opus incertum*-faced walls of the Porticus Aemilia built in 197.¹⁵⁸ The embrasure itself was constructed on Anio stone (*lapis ruber*), which was also found in the fabric of the wall at other points, suggesting that it may have been contemporary with other sections of the defenses.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Riemann 1969: 103–109. See Holloway 1994: 91 for discussion. ¹⁵⁵ Holloway 1994: 91.

¹⁵⁶ Although McNicoll did acknowledge that much more went into the selection of a masonry style than simple military goals (most notably aesthetic ideals, site requirements and economics) (McNicoll and Milner 1997: 3).

¹⁵⁷ *LTUR* III: 315–334, V: 277–279, Blake and Van Deman 2006: 70–109, Holloway 1994: 95.

¹⁵⁸ Holloway 1994: 95. ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 96.

The Servian Walls represented a significant step in the community's increasing control over warfare. While the emphasis which Livy placed on the tax for the construction of the wall,¹⁶⁰ in the context of plebeian debt, may have represented an anachronistic interpretation, there is no reason to doubt that the community as a whole helped to fund this undertaking. Additionally, the fact that these new fortifications completely enclosed the settlement imparted a uniting character, not only in perception, but also in administration. While there is no evidence to suggest that sections of Rome's previously disjointed fortifications had been constructed, maintained, and manned by independent clans or regional groupings, this sort of arrangement is not inconceivable and would indeed have made perfect sense in the socio-political environment of the seventh to fifth centuries. However, a set of fully circumvallating fortifications, evidently designed and built as part of a single, concerted, community-based effort, clearly demonstrated a communal control over both defense and access to the settlement.

The transition from clipeus to scutum, and other reforms

The period from 390 to 338 also marked the beginning of a period of change with regard to the equipment used by Rome's military forces. The literary sources record that sometime after the introduction of pay for soldiers (c. 400) Rome supposedly made the transition from using the circular *clipeus* to the oval *scutum*¹⁶¹ and adopted the form of javelin traditionally known as the *pilum*.¹⁶² The exact timing of these developments is uncertain, and

¹⁶⁰ Liv. 6.32.

¹⁶¹ Livy provided this specific *terminus ante quem* (*ibid.* 8.8). See Chapter 3 for discussion of the Latin terms *clipeus* and *scutum*. The Italic origins of the early Roman *scutum* were indicated by the fact that it was likely curved (see Eichberg 1987: 171–175 for discussion of the curved *scutum*'s Italic origins based on iconographic evidence), while other oval shields present in Italy (particularly northern Italy) were flat and similar in design and construction to others of northern European origin, and therefore likely introduced to Italy by the Gauls (Bishop and Coulston 2006: 248–249). The curved Italic *scuta* did, however, gain Gallic bosses and possibly central ribs during this period (fourth century), thus the appearance of “barleycorn” and “butterfly-wing” bosses on later examples. The only surviving *scutum* from the republican period is that from Kasr al-Harit, Egypt (*ibid.*: 63–64, Kimming 1940: 106–111).

¹⁶² The term *pilum* typically referred to a close-range javelin with an iron shank of varying length fitted to the shaft with a tang (sometimes a weighted tang) or a socket, and with a pyramidal or barbed head (Bishop and Coulston 2006: 51). In rare instances, however, it may also have referred to a type of pike used to defend fortified positions (*pilum murale*, e.g. Caes. *BG* 5.40.6, Tac. *Ann.* 4.51; *OLD*: s.v. *pilum*). Utilizing their pyramidal bodkin-heads and thin shafts, *pila* were intended to be armor-piercing missiles, whose function was to pierce an enemy shield and then, carried by their own weight and momentum, carry on through to the warrior behind the shield (Bishop and Coulston

various literary sources associated it with different periods and specific conflicts. Diodorus, although he failed to mention the use of the *pilum*, associated the adoption of the *scutum* with a conflict against a people who fought using both the *scutum* and “manipular” tactics. These were traditionally seen as characteristic of the Samnites, and therefore adoption of the shield was often placed sometime during the Samnite Wars of the mid to late fourth and early third centuries.¹⁶³ The author of the *Ineditum Vaticanum* ascribed the adoption of both the Italic *scutum* and the *pilum* to the Samnite wars,¹⁶⁴ while the second-century AD writer Athenaeus claimed that the adoption of the *scutum* occurred during the Samnite wars, and that the *pilum* was acquired from Spain.¹⁶⁵ Conversely, Plutarch’s biography of Camillus implied that both javelins and the *scutum* were already present in the early fourth century, as he claimed that, as part of a larger set of military innovations attributed to Camillus,¹⁶⁶ the dictator reinforced the rims of the Romans’ *scuta* with bronze,¹⁶⁷ and taught the Romans how to use their long javelins as thrusting spears.¹⁶⁸

The ambiguity of the dating for this shift is most likely explained by the fact that, despite the relatively swift transition hinted at in the literary sources, this change was probably slow, and similar to that experienced by southern Italic tribes during the same period.¹⁶⁹ Archaeological and iconographic evidence from southern Italy indicated that the large

2006: 51–52). This family of javelins was the type which the Romans continued to use and modify well into the late Roman Empire.

¹⁶³ Diod. Sic. 22.2. ¹⁶⁴ Von Armin 1892.

¹⁶⁵ Ath. 6.273e–f. Some features of the Roman *pilum*, including its long shank and barbs, were likely Gallic in origin, while some, most notably the pyramidal head and very long shank, may have ultimately been Celtiberian. This composite nature may serve to explain why the *pilum* was credited with so many different origins (Italic, Samnite, Gallic, Hispanic, etc.). See particularly Connolly 1997: 41–57, Small 2000: 221–234, and Bishop and Coulston 2006: 51–53.

¹⁶⁶ This association between Camillus and military innovation is most evident in Plutarch’s *Life of Camillus*, but is also present in the history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.9). Although ancient sources tended to credit historical figures with equipment reforms (most notably Gaius Marius), this is inherently unlikely (see Bishop and Coulston 2006: 39–47 for discussion). See Wiseman 2004: 126–130 and Oakley 1997: 376–279 for general discussions of the Camillus myth. See Momigliano 1960: 90–95 for a discussion of the historicity of the Camillus myth.

¹⁶⁷ The identification of the shield as the oval *scutum* was supported by the use of the word *θυρεός*, which is usually translated as being the equivalent of the Latin *scutum* (LSJ s.v. *θυρεός*). Additionally, the reinforcement of the *scutum*’s rim was evidently common practice by the second century, as Polybius noted that the upper and lower rims of the Roman *scutum* were protected with iron (Polyb. 6.23).

¹⁶⁸ Plut. *Cam.* 40. The supposed use of javelins as thrusting spears in this passage was either an error, or indicated that a more versatile spear than the traditional *pilum* was in use during the period, as the *pilum* would have been unsuited to this type of activity.

¹⁶⁹ See Schneider-Herrmann 1996 for a detailed analysis of the Samnite warriors as depicted in art and iconography, and Burns 2005 for the archaeology of warfare in Southern Italy.

circular *clipeus*, or Greek *aspis*, was gradually phased out, beginning in the late fifth and fourth centuries, in favor of the oval *scutum*.¹⁷⁰ However, evidence from tomb paintings, particularly from Campania,¹⁷¹ and excavations suggest that both shield types were in use in the same military contexts throughout the fourth century.¹⁷² The evidence for the introduction of the *pilum* in Italy is slightly more ambiguous as it is often difficult to establish what is a “javelin,” and what is not, in the archaeological record. As Bishop and Coulston argued, frescoes from the fourth-century Giglioli tomb at Tarquinia seemed to show the *pilum* in use, and a socketed example, currently in the Vatican collections, is claimed to have come from a fifth century tomb at Vulci.¹⁷³ Small attempted to push the use of the javelins back even farther, and posited that javelins had been used in central Italy, in various forms, since the sixth and fifth centuries; however, he qualified his argument by noting that many early Italian spears may have served a dual function, as both a thrusting spear and a heavy javelin.¹⁷⁴

Employment of what can be definitively identified as a *pilum* only began in Italy during the early years of the fourth century. The use of this weapon may therefore have been associated with the Gallic incursions of the early fourth century as, despite the assumption made by many ancient authors that the Gauls fought using primarily slashing swords,¹⁷⁵ from Caesar onward it was generally understood that the Gauls also used heavy javelins and that, in certain instances, their primary weapon may have actually been the spear.¹⁷⁶ Archaeological evidence has also suggested that the Gauls used javelins and spears in the fourth century.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, Small claimed that it was the Gallic wars of the mid fourth century, and most notably their effective use of the javelin, which provided the catalyst for the increased use and development of javelins throughout central and southern Italy.¹⁷⁸ It is likely, however, based on the literary evidence for Rome and comparisons with southern Italy, that these *pila* and proto-*pila* were used alongside the traditional thrusting spear, and did not entirely supplant it until perhaps the late second century; something suggested

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: 161. ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 159–160. ¹⁷² *Ibid.*: 161. ¹⁷³ Bishop and Coulston 2006: 52.

¹⁷⁴ Small 2000: 226.

¹⁷⁵ For instance, Polyb. 2.30. It must be noted that Gallic swords varied significantly in length depending on the region and period; however, long swords did predominate and, when found, should not be considered a secondary weapon.

¹⁷⁶ Small 2000: 226. Gallic infantry were swordsmen with spears and missiles (javelins), the two modes of fighting being in no way exclusive.

¹⁷⁷ See particularly Marzatico 2004. ¹⁷⁸ Small 2000: 226.

explicitly by Livy's description of the Roman army c. 340, where both were clearly in use.¹⁷⁹

While the exact dating of the adoption of the *pilum* and *scutum* in Rome is uncertain, their close association in the literary sources may have represented a legitimate historical memory, because it is likely that these two pieces of equipment may have been linked tactically. Indeed, it is plausible that the oval *scutum* was introduced to defend against the wide-scale use of the heavy javelin, with the additional length of the shield providing increased body protection, particularly for the upper thighs, which contemporary iconography indicates was a vulnerable target. The advantage of the oval *scutum* against javelins is even noted explicitly by Polybius in his description of the battle at Telamon between the Romans and Gauls.¹⁸⁰ Conversely, the pyramidal-headed, long-shanked, and heavily weighted *pilum* was specifically designed to pass through a shield board and keep on going, indicating that it may have been adopted to stop Gauls equipped with large shields.

Given that so little is known about the tactics employed in Roman warfare in the sixth and fifth centuries prior to the adoption of the *scutum* and the *pilum*, the ramifications of this transition in military equipment are uncertain. The introduction of the *scutum* and *pilum* may have indicated the increased range of weapons within an individual warrior's arsenal, or among warriors themselves with the creation of specialist "javelinmen,"¹⁸¹ or both, as suggested by Livy.¹⁸² These developments also indicate that, although early iconography often depicted warriors on horseback, a significant proportion of the Roman army during the fourth century was likely composed of infantry. The *pilum*, given its length and weight, was a weapon clearly designed to be used while on foot, and the curved *scutum* would have been decidedly unwieldy and impractical on horseback.

The introduction of the *pilum* and *scutum* also coincided with what has been described previously in this volume as a democratization of warfare in central Italy. While the thrusting spears of the archaic period were typically

¹⁷⁹ Liv. 8.8. While this description undoubtedly represented a stylized, highly systematized, and anachronistic description of the Roman army in the late fourth century, it is likely to have been based on a description of the army in the third century (possibly Fabius Pictor?) when more reliable information would have been available to Rome's historians. See also Polybius' description of the *triarii* of the late republican army continuing to use the thrusting spear (*hasta*) alongside Rome's *pilum*-wielding *velites*, *hastati*, and *principes* (Polyb. 6.23).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 2.30.

¹⁸¹ See Pontrandolfo Greco, and Rouveret 1992 for additional images and discussion.

¹⁸² Liv. 8.8.

associated with so-called aristocratic burials,¹⁸³ excavations from across central and southern Italy indicate that the *pilum* was associated with burials of individuals from widely varying social and economic classes, indicating that these types of weapons were used by a much wider cross section of society,¹⁸⁴ and suggesting that a much larger proportion of Italian society was becoming involved in warfare.¹⁸⁵ This general trend toward the widespread use of simpler forms of arms and armor during the early fourth century is also supported by the introduction of the Montefortino-style helmet in central Italy during the period.¹⁸⁶ This simple, largely undecorated form of helmet was likely Gallic in origin,¹⁸⁷ and was adopted throughout central Italy beginning in the early fourth century,¹⁸⁸ gradually replacing the more elaborate Apulo-Corinthian, Italo-Chalkidian, and Etrusco-Thracian helmet varieties, along with the simple Negau and Pilos helmet types.¹⁸⁹ This increasing use of a single, simple helmet type hints that the culture which surrounded military equipment in central Italy was evolving, and that military items were no longer the same vehicles of aristocratic display which they had been in the archaic period.

Despite the increased usage of certain types of arms and armor in central Italy among an ever-broadening segment of the population, the evidence does not suggest dramatic changes in warfare in the mid fourth century. Rather than creating a sudden uniformity of equipment within Rome's military forces, the archaeology suggests only an incremental homogenization,¹⁹⁰ with a wide variety of weapon and armor types being kept in use.¹⁹¹ Moreover, evidence from northern Italy, alongside evidence from southern Italy already discussed, suggests that the simultaneous use of a wide range of equipment types was common throughout the Italian peninsula. Additionally, central Italy's elite continued to play an integral role in the

¹⁸³ Bietti Sestieri argued that, in the period between 900 and 600 (Latian periods II–IV), spear points, and indeed the inclusion of any type of weapon in a burial, were likely to have been an indication of elite status (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 132–133).

¹⁸⁴ Small 2000: 225. Harris' arguments against the adoption of the *scutum* and *pilum* during the fourth century, based on possible expense of items, were entirely unconvincing (Harris 1990: 508).

¹⁸⁵ The distinctive design of the *pilum*, which made it so effective against shield-bearing infantry, would have made it largely impractical in non-military contexts (e.g. hunting), meaning that its presence can be seen as an indication of military activity, or at least military association.

¹⁸⁶ See Bishop and Coulston 2006: 65–66 for discussion.

¹⁸⁷ The earliest examples of this helmet type were the "Coolus" type introduced by the Gauls into Italy, and utilized the same copper alloy taken in northern Italy by Gallic tribes (*ibid.*: 65).

¹⁸⁸ See Paddock 1993: 472–502 for distributions.

¹⁸⁹ See *ibid.*: 78–95, 174–201, 265–279, 320–333, 365–380, and 400–414 for discussion of the various helmet types and distributions in Italy.

¹⁹⁰ See Burns 2003: 60–85 for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon. ¹⁹¹ Gilliver 2007: 3–5.

region's military proceedings, as seen in the military organization which emerged in Rome during the fourth century: the manipular legion.

The Roman maniples: archaism or innovation?

The manipular legion, as described by Polybius and other sources,¹⁹² seems to have represented Rome's military system as it existed at the end of the third century. Although it is likely that these literary descriptions presented highly systematized and stylized views of the Roman army, it seems clear that some form of this manipular organization was in place at least during the third century, giving a convenient *terminus ante quem*.¹⁹³ The origins of this formation are ambiguous, but all the literary sources provide roughly similar accounts. Livy placed the adoption of the maniples sometime in the first half of the fourth century, as he claimed that the Romans only adopted the formation after they had begun to accept pay (c. 400), and then described the Roman army as it appeared immediately prior to the Latin War (c. 340) as fighting in manipular order.¹⁹⁴ This approximate fourth-century date is also supported by Diodorus Siculus, who claimed that the Romans adopted maniples from "other peoples [who] were using shields such as the Romans now use, and were fighting in maniples."¹⁹⁵ The "other peoples" have often been interpreted as the Samnites,¹⁹⁶ giving a slightly later fourth-century date (the Samnite Wars being c. 343–290). However, it is possible, although unlikely, that Diodorus (or his source) was actually referring to the Gauls,¹⁹⁷ which would have fitted with Livy's implicit dating of manipular legion prior to 340.¹⁹⁸ As noted above,¹⁹⁹ implicit in this fourth-century "adoption" is the assumption that previously the Romans fought using a very different type of formation (i.e. the hoplite phalanx) using very different equipment, including the large circular *clipeus*. As recent evidence and interpretations have called this into

¹⁹² Polyb. 6.19–42, Liv. 8.8.

¹⁹³ It is clear that Livy's description of how the manipular legion functioned in battle (Liv. 8.8) was not always followed, as seen in Scipio's use of cohort-like formation during the late third century, as opposed to Livy's rigid "checkerboard" formation (Polyb. 11.22–24).

¹⁹⁴ Liv. 8.8. ¹⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. 23.2. ¹⁹⁶ See, for instance, Meiklejohn 1938, Southern 2006, etc.

¹⁹⁷ This is a possibility, given what archaeology indicates about Gallic arms and armor during the period, although it is highly unlikely as the Gauls were rarely, if ever, described using this type of equipment in the ancient sources.

¹⁹⁸ As noted in Chapter 3, aspects of this description may have been derived from a comparison between Rome's forces and those of the Alexander the Great. As a result, the date for this description, c. 340, may simply have represented its association with the life of Alexander and not a definitive date for the origin of the manipular legion.

¹⁹⁹ See above (Chapter 3).

doubt, a closer look at the fourth-century adoption of manipular tactics is warranted.

One of the more often neglected aspects of the “manipular legion” is that, even in the late third century, the entire Roman army was not organized into maniples. Rather, it was only the so-called *antepilani* (the *hastati*, *principes*, and *velites*) which were described as having ever been formed into maniples, while the *triarii*, *rorarii*, and *accensi* were divided into *vexilla*, which were distinguished by standards.²⁰⁰ While even these subdivisions, and most definitely their designated panoplies, are possibly anachronistic, highly systematized, and likely misleading, this basic division did present some interesting possibilities. Most notably, viewing the *vexilla* on their own, the *triarii*, *rorarii*, and *accensi* could be seen as representing a vague approximation to the top three divisions of the Servian Constitution, with the *hasta*-equipped and heavily armored *triarii* resembling the first class; the *rorarii*, made up of “younger and less distinguished men,”²⁰¹ possibly representing the second class; and the *accensi*, who were the “least dependable,”²⁰² representing the third or lower classes. Indeed, the separation of and distinction between the *pilani*, with their *vexilla*, and *antepilani*, organized into *manipuli*, are things which most scholars have glossed over – in large part because of their evident integration in the later army.²⁰³ But despite the integration, the Roman army, as described by Polybius in the second century, did seem to contain two distinct aspects which were not merely distinguished by different equipment types. In addition to being organized into different units, the fact that the *pilani*, or at least the *triarii*, also evidently used distinctive standards to distinguish each of the *vexilla* may have indicated that these groups shared a certain corporate identity outside of the manipular structure, hinting at an origin in an earlier system. While it is possible that these standards were similar to those introduced by Marius in the late Republic, which were symbols associated with the unit, the standards of

²⁰⁰ Liv. 8.8. ²⁰¹ ...*minus roboris aetate factisque...* (*ibid.* 8.8).

²⁰² ...*minimae fiducia manum...* (*ibid.* 8.8).

²⁰³ Varro (Var. *Ling.* 5.89), supported by Festus (204L), suggested that the term *pilani* was derived from the word *pilum* and that the *pilani* were actually the first to use the *pilum*, only later switching to the *hasta* as their main weapon. This interpretation is unlikely and Keppie, Sekunda, and others have argued that it may be instead related to the word *pilus* and their formation as a single column or pillar (Keppie 1988: 218; Sekunda 1996: 36). Yet another option, however, may relate to military equipment and particularly helmets. The term *pilus* has a huge range of uses in Latin, but a large number relate to hair or crests (see TLL *pilus*). It is possible that the *pilani* were initially distinguished by their crested helmets, which the *triarii* seem to have maintained, but which the archaeological records suggest were more generally a feature of archaic panoplies.

the third-century *vexilla* may have had a more direct association with the members of the *vexilla* themselves. Indeed, it is possible that these *vexilla* were the descendants of Rome's early *gens*-based warbands, functioning in the late third century, and the standards may have reflected this heritage. In this situation, the *triarii* may have represented descendants of the main gentilicial warbands, equipped with spears in a slightly more archaic fashion, while the *rorarii* and *accensii* may have been made up of associated followers. Seen in this context, the maniples of the manipular legion take on a decidedly different character. Rather than representing the pieces of a broken-up phalanx, as often envisaged by modern historians,²⁰⁴ maniples came to resemble artificial copies of Rome's early warbands, which may have fought alongside the descendants of those warbands, perhaps organized slightly differently in *vexilla*. Indeed, Harris has already argued that the maniples of Rome's fourth century army represented the development of Rome's previously existing, semi-private warbands, or at least a rough equivalent.²⁰⁵

The idea that Rome's early maniples represented artificial, replica warbands may also be helpful in analyzing how the army fought. As Quesada Sanz suggested, far from fighting in the "ordered rectangles" imagined by many modern military historians, Roman soldiers fighting in maniples may have fought in formations resembling "dense clouds."²⁰⁶ This loose formation would also have been more fitting for the epithet "maniple", which simply means "handful." A more elastic formation would have given soldiers the ability to expand to throw their *pila*, and contract when engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.²⁰⁷ This interpretation is supported by Rawlings, who argued that the move to maniples represented a move toward missile combat, although he clearly envisaged this as part of a movement away from hoplite warfare.²⁰⁸ It is also important to note that the manipular warfare of the fourth century was not like that of the late third or second centuries, because Roman soldiers had yet to universally adopt the *gladius hispaniensis*, or characteristic short sword.²⁰⁹ As a result, the primary offensive weapon remained the spear and/or javelins, with a sword being an additional, secondary weapon utilized by those wealthy enough to afford one.

A Roman army which featured both *manipuli* and *vexilla* would have also represented an incredibly flexible and adaptive army, as it featured two

²⁰⁴ See Meiklejohn 1938, Southern 2006, etc.

²⁰⁶ Quesada Sanz 2006: 252. ²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 253.

²⁰⁹ Bishop and Coulston 2006: 54–56.

²⁰⁵ Harris 1990: 508.

²⁰⁸ Rawlings 2007: 57.

different unit types and a myriad of different troop types, which gave Roman commanders many options when planning an attack or indeed integrating various soldiers into a single tactical force. In fact, this varied character may be the manipular legion's greatest asset. The system obviously developed out of the community of Rome's internal needs and requirements, and most obviously the desire to integrate her existing gentilicial warbands, both with each other and with her burgeoning urban population, into a single functioning army. However, the varied and inclusive nature of the manipular legion also allowed Rome to integrate other forces, gentilicial/tribal and civic based, into her army. New groups of allied soldiers could, for the most part, maintain their existing leaders, tactical units (clans, tribal levies, citizen militias, etc.), and military equipment, and could simply be integrated into the Roman system of *vexilla* and *manipuli* where most appropriate. As time went on and Rome's allies began to fight more often within her system than without it, the importance of this flexibility clearly diminished, but initially it could be seen as the key to Rome's allied armies of the fourth and early third centuries.

The image of Roman warfare in the fourth century, where combat was still conducted utilizing warbands and pseudo-warbands, would have been troubling to historians writing during the late Republic. The accepted wisdom is that Rome had been able to win victories against opponents such as the Gauls primarily through superior organization. However, Quesada Sanz theorized that Roman armies, even as late as the late third century, had more in common with Gallic and Celt-Iberian forces than with Hellenistic formations, at least with regard to equipment and tactics.²¹⁰ This image of Roman warfare is also supported by Oakley's study of single combat in republican warfare, where he noted that, particularly during the middle Republic, duels were an integral part of central Italian warfare.²¹¹ Moreover, as noted above, this may have explained Rome's evident ability to integrate *socii* into the ranks during the conflicts of the early third century, many of whom seem to have fought along archaic and highly individualistic lines.²¹² The tomb paintings at Paestum, which clearly show

²¹⁰ Quesada Sanz 2006. ²¹¹ Oakley 1985: 397.

²¹² "A certain man named Oblacus, with the cognomen Volsinius, a leader of the Ferentan nation, observing that pyramid did not remain in one fixed place but appeared suddenly to all his men in turn as they fought, kept his attention on him alone and wherever Pyrrhus rode up he would bring up his own horse opposite him. One of the king's companions, Leonnatus, the son of Leophantus, a Macedonian, observing him, became suspicious, and pointing him out to Pyrrhus, said: 'Beware of that man, O King; for he is a keen warrior, and does not fight remaining in one position, but watches you and has his attention fixed on you.' To which the king answered: 'But what could he,

a wide range of duels, hint that such practice was common in Campania, while Rawlings drew attention to an account of the Pyrrhic War, possibly derived from Pyrrhus' own journals, which indicated that single combat and seeking out a single opponent was a common practice in central Italian warfare.²¹³ While aspects of this dueling ethos may have represented epic elaboration and embellishment, taken together the evidence suggests that the manipular structure was not as rigid as many traditional scholars have thought.²¹⁴ Finally, there remains epigraphic evidence, like the *Caso Cantouio* inscription, which seems to support the continued presence of warlords and warbands active in central Italy down to the end of the fourth century.²¹⁵ Although not conclusive, the inscription which reads "Caso Cantouius of Aproficulum captured (this) by the *finis Gallicus* in the city of Caiontonia, and his *socii* brought it as a gift to Angitia on behalf of the Marsic *legiones*" hints that the type of individual and group of followers which dedicated the Lapis Satricanus c. 500 were still present and militarily active in the region.²¹⁶ Although this type of force was likely increasing out of step with the military environment, and would have been no match for the larger forces which the Romans and other major powers were able to field in this period, its existence is not antithetical to Rome's military model, but rather an addendum to it. Rome's manipular army likely contained a number of warbands, like that of Caso Cantouius, and there would have been nothing to stop these warbands acting independently again once Rome's army had been demobilized.

Rome's nascent navy

One of the more specialized shifts which occurred in Roman warfare during the fourth century was the introduction of naval conflict on a larger scale. While it is possible that Romans had been engaged in naval activities since at least the late sixth century, as arguably indicated by Rome's first

being but one man, do to me who have so many defenders about me?' and with youthful bravado he even uttered some boast about his own strength, to the effect that even if he engaged alone with a single adversary the other would not get off unpunished. The Ferentian Oblacus, having thus found the opportunity for which he was waiting, charged with his companions into the midst of the royal squadron; and breaking through the crowd of attendant horsemen, he bore down upon the king himself, grasping his spear with both hands. But at the same moment Leonnatus, who had warned Pyrrhus to beware of the man, swerved a little to one side and struck the foe's horse through the flank with his spear, but Oblacus even while falling to the ground ran the king's horse through the breast; and both fell with their horses. As for the king, the most faithful man of his bodyguards mounted him on his own horse and rode away." (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19, trans. Cary)

²¹³ Rawlings 2007: 52, 60. ²¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 52. ²¹⁵ *CIL* I², 5.

²¹⁶ Tutto, Prosdocimi, and Rocca 2002: 55.

treaty with Carthage, these activities seem to have been limited in both scale and scope.²¹⁷ According to Thiel's analysis of early Roman naval power, by at least the year 400 Rome had established some long-distance maritime trade contacts.²¹⁸ Additionally, Livy reported that the Romans had a warship as early as 394 BC, which sailed from Rome to Greece to visit the Oracle at Delphi, although what that really means in this context is naturally debatable.²¹⁹ However, as Alföldi argued, the capture of Veian booty by Lipari pirates in the early years of the fourth century implied that Roman sea power was anything but dominant in this period.²²⁰

Rome was often portrayed as having been relatively new to naval warfare during the first Punic War (264–241),²²¹ traditionally stealing Carthaginian technology to gain superiority at sea.²²² Indeed, Rome was forced to call upon Italian allies for triremes and pentekonteres, although this amounted to only roughly 25 ships when Rome raised a fleet in 260.²²³ Rome's lack of naval power during this period was further confirmed by Polybius, who claimed that when Appius Claudius crossed to Messene the Romans did not have a single ship of their own in the fleet.²²⁴ All the above suggests that, despite Carthaginian worries about Roman ships in the fourth century, Rome was evidently not a major naval power in the third century. One of the first indications of an increased Roman focus on naval matters is the (admittedly problematic) colonization of Sardinia in 386/385 and Corsica in the 350s.²²⁵ This was followed by the second treaty between Rome and Carthage described in Polybius.²²⁶ Probably dating to 348,²²⁷ it prohibited the Romans from plundering "beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia or Tarseum,"²²⁸ suggesting that Roman vessels were sufficiently active in the western Mediterranean to have concerned Carthage, the major maritime power in the region. However, this evident activity is slightly problematic when seen in the context of Rome's naval power in the late fourth and third centuries.

²¹⁷ This treaty was traditionally, although not universally, ascribed to the final years of the sixth century. However, a number of other dates have been suggested. See Beaumont 1939 for a general discussion. See Macintosh Turfa 1977 for possible implications.

²¹⁸ Thiel 1954: 3. ²¹⁹ Livy 5.28. ²²⁰ See also Alföldi 1965: 347 for discussion.

²²¹ Most notably, Polybius used the phrase "how, when and for what reasons did the Romans set sail for the first time" when discussing Roman naval ventures in the third century (Polyb. 1.20). See Alföldi 1965: 349.

²²² Polyb. 1.20. ²²³ See Tarn 1907: 50 for discussion. ²²⁴ Polyb. 1.20. ²²⁵ See Chapter 6.

²²⁶ Polyb. 3.24. See Lancel and Nevill 1995 for a general overview of Roman-Carthage interaction. ²²⁷ 306 was also a possible date. See Harris 1990: 500 for discussion.

²²⁸ Harris argued that the Fair Promontory is likely to be in Africa, while Mastia or Tarseum represented a point in the west (*ibid.*: 500).

The reason for the discrepancy in the sources regarding Roman naval power may be related to the fact that ancient navies were expensive to build and maintain, and were therefore not high on the list of priorities for states which were not primarily concerned with naval affairs. Even Carthage, the great sea power of the fifth and fourth centuries, was only noted as having between 100 and 200 triremes at any one time during this period (the average number was only 130).²²⁹ Ancient states were often able to circumvent the issue of expense by relying on the use of private vessels in times of war, and indeed some benefit may be gained from comparisons with early Greek navies in this respect. As van Wees pointed out, early Greek naval expeditions (most notably that of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*)²³⁰ seem to have been based, at least in part, on social and kinship links.²³¹ Indeed, state war fleets were a relatively late phenomenon, with the notable exception of Athens. In times of war the communities typically depended on private ship-owners to make their ships and crew available for the public good.²³² This reliance is likely to have been even greater in Rome, where naval threats were not often a high priority. Thus, it is likely that the ships which were troubling Carthage in the fourth century were private raiders, following a pan-Mediterranean model of the kind described by Thucydides. He claimed that the Greeks used to raid “under the leadership of the most powerful men, who sought to make a profit for themselves and provide a livelihood for the weak.”²³³

This interpretation of Rome’s fourth-century naval activity, as having been driven by independent raiders, is supported by a wide range of indirect evidence. For instance, a certain “Postumius the Etruscan,” a pirate who controlled twelve ships and who was put to death by Timoleon in 339,²³⁴ may have been a Roman.²³⁵ Additionally, the relatively independent nature of her new “maritime colonies” also fit into this model of largely independent naval operations, where naval warfare had become the new raiding ground of aristocratic warlords. However, it is noteworthy that both Rome and Carthage felt that the Roman state would be able to exert sufficient control over its independent raiders for a treaty to be a worthwhile initiative. State control over naval warfare was then further enhanced by the creation of the *duoviri navales* in 311, which commanded allied naval forces. This revealed that by the end of the fourth century, the

²²⁹ Tarn 1907: 49. ²³⁰ Hom. *Od.* 2.383–5, 3.362–4. ²³¹ See van Wees 2004: 203.

²³² *Ibid.*: 203. ²³³ Thuc. 1.5.1, trans. van Wees. See van Wees 2004: 203 for discussion.

²³⁴ Diod. Sic. 16.82. ²³⁵ Harris 1990: 500.

Roman state was beginning to realize the need for state control of naval assets.²³⁶

Warlords or generals? Increasing state control of warfare

During the fourth century, Roman warfare continued its journey from *gens*-based raiding to community-based forces fighting for land. Perhaps the most obvious indication of this was the reinvention of the consulship in 367. During the period from 390 to 367, the Roman state had witnessed a complete reversion to the consular tribunate, a position which can be seen as a joint military command between the gentilicial elite and the plebeians, but one which represented an incomplete compromise because it seems to have lacked *imperium* and the right to triumph. These were two important facets of the relationship between an archaic warlord and the urban community, as they allowed warfare to act as a medium for elite expression and as part of elite competition. Full reversion to the consular tribunate is likely to have been a repercussion of the Gallic and the persistent military pressure from both the Gauls and the Latins during the early fourth century, which ensured that Rome utilized the larger, community-based military system during this period.²³⁷ However, in 367, a new magistracy was introduced which continued many aspects of Rome's archaic praetorship while still integrating the community's plebeian element and utilizing the larger community-based forces of the consular tribunes.²³⁸ This magistracy was dubbed the consulship and immediately and completely replaced the consular tribunate, which had dominated Roman politics and warfare for the previous three decades.²³⁹ The archaic praetorship was arguably still maintained within Rome's military structure, in the form of the new *praetor urbanus*, albeit in a role that was subsidiary to the new consulship.

The creation of a new magistracy, which essentially usurped the main prerogatives of the archaic praetorship and combined them with the community-based military structure of the consular tribunate, is indicative of a much wider trend in increasing state control over warfare in the fourth century. However, as noted above, the control over warfare differed between land and sea. Thus, by the beginning of the fourth century Rome already exercised a significant degree of control over land warfare, although the modernizing tendency in the historical record to eliminate any record of private wars may have exaggerated this. Meanwhile, Rome's

²³⁶ Liv. *Per.* 12, App. *Sam.* 7.1. ²³⁷ See [Chapter 5](#).

²³⁸ Liv. 6.42; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.8–10; Plut. *Cam.* 40–42. ²³⁹ *MRR*: 113–150.

nascent naval warfare was seemingly left almost entirely to individuals, representing a continuation of the archaic way of war on the fringes of Roman control, at least until the final decades of the fourth century.²⁴⁰

State control is also reflected in the nature and character of Roman military leaders during the period. For instance, consuls and consular armies were clearly seen as representatives of the state by the year 357, when Livy recorded that one of the consuls passed a law concerning a tax on manumission by convening his army in a camp at Sutrium.²⁴¹ While Forsythe argued that this represented an archaic throwback, where the army exerted its position as the sovereign political body of Rome, there were no previous references to an army conducting official business while on campaign.²⁴² This can therefore be seen as a *terminus ante quem* for the complete integration of the consul as general of the Roman state, and for the armed forces as representative of the joint patrician-plebeian polity (most likely as an embodiment of the *comitia centuriata*).

The invention (or reinvention) of the consulship

The introduction of the consulship in 367 represented a major step in the development of Rome's unified military forces, although one which was largely passed over by Rome's late republican historians.²⁴³ The literary sources claimed that the primary difference between the consulship and the previously existent praetorship was that plebeians were allowed to hold the magistracy, and indeed the literary sources seemed to have viewed the two magistracies (archaic praetorship and consulship) as being one and the same except for this difference.²⁴⁴ However, given the nature of the early

²⁴⁰ Harris 1990: 500–501. The advent of the *duovir navilis* in 310 arguably represents the point at which this other theatre of war comes under full state control.

²⁴¹ Liv. 7.16. See Forsythe 2007: 35–36 for discussion. Part of this state control was based on the *sacramentum*, or oath, which Livy claimed that soldiers took to obey the commands of their general (Liv. 10.38. See also Rawlings 2007: 51). This seemed to have represented a very different type of relationship between the soldiers and the generals than existed previously under the *praetores* in the fifth century. During the fifth century, Rome's soldiers were evidently divided into two categories: the *gens*-based soldiers, whose strong social and religious links to the *praetor* (who at this point was unlikely to be an elected official, see Chapter 4) ensured loyalty, and the plebeian element, which seem to have been motivated by common defense. The *sacramentum* may have represented the evolution of the early *sodales* or *gens*-based union between *praetor* and follower, which would have served to ensure the same degree of loyalty from the plebeian soldiers to the *praetor*, and later the elected consuls, but would have also served to relegate the archaic *sodale* and *gens*-based linkages to archaic vestiges.

²⁴² Forsythe 2007: 36. ²⁴³ See Smith 2011 for an overview of the core issues involved.

²⁴⁴ The sources were ambiguous about the difference between the consulship and the consular tribunate.

praetorship, with its *gens*-based affiliation and evident focus on the largely extramural warlord, the integration of the urban plebeians into this magistracy is indicative of a much more substantial shift in the nature of the office, and it is likely that the consulship represented an entirely new office which existed alongside the remnants of the archaic praetorship, the *praetor urbanus* of the mid to late Republic.

One point which all the sources agreed on was the plebeian influence on the creation of the new magistracy. Between 376 and 370,²⁴⁵ no curule magistrates were recorded as having been elected in Rome, a period *solitudo magistratuum* which the literary sources ascribed to the actions of the tribunes C. Licinius and L. Sextius.²⁴⁶ While it is likely that the tradition concerning the measures which the latter put forward (dealing with debt, limits on land, and the “reintroduction” of the consulship with one of the positions reserved for a plebeian) contain a certain amount of anachronistic interpretation from later authors,²⁴⁷ some aspects of the Licinio-Sextian rogations are likely to have been authentic.²⁴⁸ For instance, the prohibition on utilizing more than 500 *iugera* of public land accorded with both the sudden expansion in the *ager Romanus* in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and an archaic law to this effect was utilized by the agrarian reformers of the second century.²⁴⁹ More importantly for the current discussion, the plebs were beginning to exert an increasing amount of influence over Rome’s archaic military offices during this period, lending credence to the creation of a military magistracy which contained aspects of Rome’s archaic military tradition and which was open to the plebeians. In particular, in 368, the dictator P. Manlius appointed C. Licinius as the first

²⁴⁵ Diodorus recorded consular tribunes for the year 376 (Diod. 15.71) while Livy held that the *solitudo magistratuum* began in this year, forced by tribunician action. See *MRR*: 108–109 for more discussion.

²⁴⁶ It should be noted that these events are highly disputed (see Oakley 1997: 644–685), although it was highly unlikely that the period *solitudo magistratuum* was actually a period of anarchy in Rome.

²⁴⁷ The measure concerning debt is particularly troublesome. While debt seemed to play a large part in early tribunician measures in the literary sources, no significant measures concerning debt were passed in the fourth century until the abolition of *nexum* with the *lex Poetelia Papiria* of 326 (although several other minor measures were passed in the 350s and 340s, see Liv. 7.19; 7.21; 7.27; 7.28). Indeed, the authenticity of this aspect of the rogations has been challenged in the past, most notably by De Sanctis (1907: II.217). Oakley argued that the Licinio-Sextian rogation with regard to debt, which provided that interest already paid on debt be deducted from the principal and the later paid in three equal installments (Liv. 6.35), should not be considered a permanent attempt to abolish the charging of interest, but rather a “temporary alleviation of the burden of those in debt” (Oakley 1997: 660).

²⁴⁸ Oakley argued (*ibid.*: 661–662) that there is abundant evidence that debt was a major social issue in the fourth century.

²⁴⁹ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8–9. See Ridley 2000 for a detailed discussion.

plebeian Master of the Horse. This was the first instance of what had been an archaic military office (not a new creation like the consular tribunate) being opened to the plebeian population.²⁵⁰ Later this was followed by the creation of the consulship in 367, the first plebeian dictator in 356, and the opening of the censorship in the later fourth century. The normal explanation of the Licinio-Sextian rogation, that it reserved one of the consulships for a plebeian, is entirely unsatisfactory because this was evidently not the case until the year 342.²⁵¹

It must be acknowledged, however, that plebeian influence represented only one half of the equation. The creation of the consulship, also satiated the aristocratic desire for access to the ancient rights and privileges accorded to the *praetor*, meaning that the magistracy could also be seen as a patrician attempt to combine their archaic magistracy, and all that that entailed, with regular control over a much larger military force: the community-based army which had been commanded by the consular tribunes. Indeed, patrician dominance of the office of consulship after its creation, notably through the 350s when both consulships were held by patricians on numerous occasions, suggested that the patricians maintained a high degree of control over military offices throughout the fourth century, despite the increase in plebeian influence.

The reasons why this patrician dominance of the new office, and the inclusion of archaic patrician privileges alongside the command benefits of the consular tribunes, would have been acceptable to the community, and particularly the plebeians, are hard to ascertain with any certainty, although a few hypotheses can be advanced based on the larger context. Perhaps the most logical conclusion might be that the various archaic aspects of the consulship, including *imperium* and the associated right to triumph, represented a compromise with the patrician *gentes* both in order to make the office more appealing to them, thereby encouraging them to stay in Rome and compete for it, and also as a way to move the previously existing competition between the *gentes*, which had largely taken place outside of Rome through raiding and mortuary practices, inside the community and directly link it to the community's civic structure. It is worthwhile remembering that although the individual clans, and particularly those which had permanently settled in the area, were worried about the return of the Gauls, the urban community was perhaps the most vulnerable target, and the population would have been aware that compromise would likely be necessary in order to secure the best arrangement.

²⁵⁰ Liv. 6.39; Plut. *Cam.* 39.5; Dio 29.5.

²⁵¹ Cornell 1995b: 337.

Although the permanently settled *gentes* around Rome would have needed little incentive, as their interests were arguably aligned with the urban center's, the record of evidently mobile and powerful warleaders like M. Furius Camillus being active in the period (and absent from Rome when the city was attacked) suggests that a compromise may still have been required for some of the more mobile and powerful.²⁵² Indeed, the increased use of the dictatorship during this period (particularly by Camillus), may reflect a short-term solution to this issue, as the office was utilized to incorporate some of the more powerful clans alongside the existing system of consular tribunes. It is therefore not a coincidence that the middle of the fourth century and the creation of the consulship in 367 have been directly linked to the creation of a "Roman Nobility" by Gelzer, Hölkeskamp, and others, whereby social position was determined largely through the holding of various magistracies within the city.²⁵³ Thus, the new office of the consulship would have combined the best of both systems, allowing it to once again function as a clear mechanism of aristocratic display, while also putting at its disposal the largest military forces.

Although the reforms of 367 co-opted many of the rights of the archaic *praetor* for the consulship, the praetorship itself was not truly abandoned. Livy claimed that while "the nobility yielded to the plebs in the matter of a plebeian consul, the plebs conceded to the nobility a single *praetor*, elected from the patricians, to administer law in the city."²⁵⁴ Despite the insistence of the literary sources that the praetorship was a "new" magistracy, this figure seemed to function in the same way as Rome's archaic *praetores* (which the literary sources assumed were consuls). As Brennan concluded, when the *praetor* appeared in the latter half of Livy's second pentad, he fulfilled all of the activities accorded him by virtue of his *imperium*, with the exception of civic duties within the city. The latter were likely not conducted by the archaic, fifth century *praetores*.²⁵⁵ Additionally, although the *imperium* of the fourth century *praetor* was recorded as *minus* to that of the consuls, this

²⁵² Camillus' exile (Liv. 7.1.10, Plut. *Cam.* 31–32), whether real or a literary trope used to explain his absence at Rome and presence in Ardea in 390, seems to represent an archaic throwback to the mobile warlords of the early and mid fifth century BC.

²⁵³ Gelzer 1969: 27–44; Hölkeskamp 1987: 62–89.

²⁵⁴ Liv. 6.42 (trans. Brennan). It is possible that the role of the *praetor*, ascribed by Livy, in the administration of justice was a result of the later duties of the *praetor urbanus*, and was not part of the original magisterial duties. Indeed Lydus, the Byzantine administrator, may have been correct when he attributed the creation of the praetorship in 367 to military concerns, a point supported by the office's grant of *imperium*, and by the earliest appearance of the *praetores* in military roles outside of Rome (Brennan 2000: 60).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 61.

befitted the position of the *praetor* as the descendent of the archaic warlord, as opposed to the leader of a unified, community-based army. Indeed, the year 367 may also mark a key transition in the nature of *imperium* in Rome, where it no longer bound an external leader to the community but instead seems to have become associated with a magistrate's *potestas*. This archaic origin of the praetorship is supported by the fact that the office of the *praetor* remained in the control of the patrician elite until 336.²⁵⁶

The reforms of 367 clearly established continuity of development, rather than a clean break with the past, as was suggested by Livy.²⁵⁷ However, rather than representing a "rationalized consular tribunate of three members," as Brennan supposed, the new system of magistrates was yet another compromise.²⁵⁸ The consulship took on the duties and military purview of the consular tribunes, albeit with more of the benefits of the archaic *praetor*, particularly with regard to *imperium* and celebrating the triumph, while the archaic praetorship was retained, albeit in a subsidiary role.

Rome's plebeian generals

In addition to ushering in a new period of unified military activity between the patricians and plebeians, the Licinio-Sextian rogations of 367 marked the true advent of the plebeian general. Prior to 367, Rome had experienced a few plebeian military leaders under the guise of the consular tribunate. Even in this military capacity plebeians were relatively rare though and, with military power spread across so many individuals, the power and influence of an individual military leader was often limited. Additionally, the magistracy's likely lack of *imperium* and ineligibility for the triumph demonstrated that the holders of this office were not accorded the same privileges as early *praetores* or dictators. The advent of the plebeian consul, one of only two supreme military leaders in Rome, released the full potential of this new brand of general, despite their lack of a long tradition of military leadership like that enjoyed by their patrician counterparts. While plebeian consular tribunes clearly commanded armies, their power was limited by a number of factors, including an evident lack of the auspices. Livy recorded that the first plebeian to go to war under his own auspices was the ill-fated L. Gernucius (cos. 362), who was defeated and killed by the Hernici.²⁵⁹ The opening of the auspices to the plebs represented a major step in the integration of these two populations, as clearly seen in the patrician reaction to his defeat.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Liv. 8.15.

²⁵⁷ Brennan 2000: 59.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 59.

²⁵⁹ Liv. 7.6.

²⁶⁰ Cornell 1983: 116.

The impact of this new type of general was surprisingly profound. Harris considered that the advent of plebeian military leaders was one of the factors which led to Rome's increasing bellicosity during subsequent years.²⁶¹ Indeed, as Taylor opined, the plebeian leaders were evidently more ready than their patrician counterparts to take risks in expanding Roman territory.²⁶² Part of the reason for this increased aggression may have been that Rome's plebeian population did not have the same links to the rest of Latium as its patrician predecessors.²⁶³ While the patrician aristocracy seems to have fought a large number of battles during the sixth and fifth centuries, they did so within a mutually agreed framework where equality, rather than domination, seems to have been the ideal. This may have been linked to the aristocracy's mobility, and the prospect that they might someday move to or marry into the settlement or clan they had just attacked. Conversely, the plebeian generals of the fourth century conducted their wars without this traditional structure, and seem to have had very different views about their position within the socio-political landscape of Latium and central Italy.²⁶⁴ It is also likely that Rome's plebeian generals had a slightly different understanding of plunder and the benefits of warfare. While patrician generals were part of a long tradition of using warfare to advance personal causes and increase personal wealth (primarily through portable wealth), plebeian military leaders' determination to expand Rome's territory may have reflected the territorial approach to wealth which was evident in the urban population of Rome in the fifth and early fourth centuries.

The period also witnessed the advent of plebeian *nobilitas*.²⁶⁵ As Beloch argued, plebs who were elected to the consulship in the fourth century were probably already wealthy members of Roman society;²⁶⁶ however, they lacked the *nobilitas* and long tradition of military success of their patrician counterparts. Thus, the consulship offered Rome's plebeian elite the

²⁶¹ Harris 1990: 504. ²⁶² Taylor 1960: 53.

²⁶³ It should be noted that this relationship between Roman and Latin identities was extremely complex, and remains largely a mystery even for the better documented periods of the late Republic and early Empire. For instance, while Rome's aristocracy may have had strong, traditional links with the rest of Latium and central Italy (see, for instance, the claimed patrician descent of the Claudii, Valerii, Aemilii, Marcii Reges, and Pinarii), this did not stop them from regularly insisting on the "purity" of their Roman lineage (even with the truth was clearly otherwise), and differentiating themselves from later immigrants. See Farney 2007 for a wide-ranging discussion of Roman aristocratic identity (both plebeian and patrician) in the Republic and early Empire.

²⁶⁴ It is possible that this new Roman approach to the Latins and other central Italian communities was a result of Rome's increasing self-identification/differentiation; a phenomenon which was not confined to the plebeians, but which was present throughout Roman society during the fourth century. Again, see *ibid.*, who identified the incorporation of Sabinum as the crucial point in the development of a distinct Roman identity.

²⁶⁵ Harris 1990: 504. ²⁶⁶ Beloch 1926: 337–338.

opportunity to win *nobilitas* through military achievement. The right to triumph may have also spurred on their aggressive tendencies, as this represented an important part of elite competition. However, it should be noted that the ability of the plebs to climb socially through military success was initially limited, and it was only after 306 that the senate regularly bestowed triumphs on plebeian generals.²⁶⁷

The reforms of the mid fourth century: a revised model

As noted above, the introduction of the consulship was only one element of a wide-ranging series of measures which served to increase the integration of Rome's patrician and plebeian populations within the military sphere.²⁶⁸ Soon after the plebs acquired the right to the consulship they also acquired the right to hold other magistracies with military-related functions and duties, not to mention the opening up of the auspices and religious offices. The first plebeian dictator was appointed in 356 and the first *censor* either in 351 or 339.²⁶⁹ The fourth century may have also marked the advent of the *comitia centuriata* and *comitia tributa* as the fully functioning political bodies which would have been recognizable to Rome's late republican authors.

Although the literary sources claimed that Rome's seventeen archaic rural tribes originated in the late regal period and the first few years of the Republic, there was uncertainty about what this meant in practical terms. The tribes were given the right to elect *tribuni* in 471, the right to elect *quaestores* in 447, and a variety of different judicial and legislative duties during the second half of the fifth century;²⁷⁰ but no new tribes were created between 495 and 387, and the legislative power of the *comitia tributa* is problematic until the late fourth century.²⁷¹ As a result, it is entirely possible that the archaic tribes represented Rome's early population, both the urban population and settled *gentes*, divided up into rough geographic units.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Harris 1990: 505.

²⁶⁸ This military integration mirrored the social and political integration of the patrician and plebeian elite (see Hölkeskamp 1987).

²⁶⁹ See MRR: 126–127, 137–138 and Ferenczy 1976: 47. The censorship of C. Marcius Rutilius in 351 was problematic, as the *leges Publiliae Philonis* of 339 was supposed to have laid down the right of plebeians to hold the censorship.

²⁷⁰ See Taylor 1960: 47–49 for a detailed discussion.

²⁷¹ Most notably the Publilian law of 339 seemed to be a re-enactment of the law passed in 449, making laws passed in the *comitia* binding on all "Quirites" (Liv. 8.12).

²⁷² Although these units were clearly geographic by the late Republic, it is likely that they were originally based on social/kinship linkages, particularly in the case of the rural tribes which likely represented the territories controlled by various *gentes*. See Smith 2006: 237–250 for a detailed discussion of the possible association between the *gens* and the *tribus*.

Consequently, the archaic *comitia tributa* would have been little more than a community assembly which incorporated the entire population of Rome, and therefore gave a voice to the various aspects community's growing population. With the expansion of citizenship beyond Rome's confines during the fourth century, increasingly through the introduction of new tribes, it is likely that this community assembly evolved into the fully functioning legislative body of the form evident in the late Republic sometime in the fourth century. Although the direct impact of the tribal assembly on the Roman army itself was minimal, the assembly did have a fundamental impact on Roman warfare in that it, along with the *comitia centuriata*, represented the population and political body which began to make decisions about if and when Rome would go to war in addition to the basic system by which the army was recruited. This demonstrated once again the community's increasing power over war in Roman society, and indeed Rome's increasingly evolved concept of community.

The form and function of the *comitia centuriata* is also problematic heading into the late fourth century. As Taylor argued, while the tribes and classes of the centuriate assembly must have functioned together, this would presumably have required a complete reorganization of the assembly on each of the five occasions from 387 to 299 when new tribes were added.²⁷³ Cornell has pushed for an ingenious solution to this problem by arguing that, rather than there being a single centuriate organization composed of various tribes, the centuriate organization may have been reduplicated in each of the tribes, with the result that any additions to the *comitia tributa* (or indeed the addition of classes to the centuriate assembly) could occur without a dramatic reorganization of the other system.²⁷⁴ The end result of this model was a centuriate assembly which was a timocratic version of the *comitia tributa*, in which only the members of each tribe who were able to equip themselves for war were able to vote. This type of system coincided well with the advent of a plebeian military aristocracy in Rome, and a unified patricio-plebeian army, while still suggesting that the centuriate assembly, and the resultant centuriate army, should be seen as an evolution of the existing tribal structure.

The incorporation of the Latins

Much of Rome's activity during the fourth century, both military and otherwise, was defined by the city's constantly evolving relationship with

²⁷³ Taylor 1957: 339–340. ²⁷⁴ Cornell 1995b: 194.

the Latins. This relationship governed many aspects of Rome's physical expansion into Latium and the extension of her military and political power inside and outside the region. Additionally, it is clear that the Latins also exerted a certain level of influence on many of Rome's internal developments, including the growth of Rome's citizen body and the development of Rome's military and political organizations. Despite the importance of this relationship between Rome and the Latins during the fourth century, many aspects of the affiliation, both before and after 390, remain obscure.²⁷⁵ From the eighth century onwards, the region of Latium was home to a distinct cultural unit, now known as the *cultura Laziale*, to which both Rome and the other Latin communities belonged.²⁷⁶ By the sixth century, this informal cultural homogeneity appears to have evolved into a series of more formal links. These included religious associations, marked by the presence of communal cults (most notably that of Diana), by the practicing of various communal festivals, especially the Latiar,²⁷⁷ and by the Latin League, which represented a regional political and military association.²⁷⁸

It was the Latin League, the region's nominal political and military association, which was to prove the most important in the development of Roman warfare. As the League was made entirely obsolete by the events of 338, evidence for the institution is ambiguous at best, and historians writing during the late Republic struggled to make sense of the scant material available to them. The literary sources clearly saw the League as an archaic institution, as there are assorted references to the League throughout the literary narrative for Rome's regal period going back to the reign of Romulus.²⁷⁹ Additionally, while the origins of the League were still shrouded in mystery, the growing menace to the region posed by the raids of the Aequi and the Volsci may have served as a catalyst for its development in the late sixth and early fifth centuries.²⁸⁰ Indeed, the basic tenets of the *foedus Cassianum* indicate that the primary purpose of the League was to defend the region against external threats, at least by the early fifth century.

The composition of the League is also uncertain. Although Dionysius of Halicarnassus offered a list of the thirty peoples who signed the *foedus*

²⁷⁵ See Oakley 1997: 331–345 for a comprehensive summary of the available information.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 2. ²⁷⁷ Oakley 1997: 334.

²⁷⁸ As Oakley noted, membership in one association did not necessarily denote membership in another (*ibid.*: 334–335).

²⁷⁹ Oakley was likely correct in arguing that it was only those in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus which can be viewed with any degree of certainty (*ibid.*: 335).

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*: 337. See also Alföldi 1965: 367–377.

Cassianum,²⁸¹ this is widely accepted to be an annalistic fabrication based on the region's religious association of a much later period.²⁸² Given the regional politics of the sixth and fifth centuries, the assumption that the League was always composed of Latin communities, let alone the same set of Latin communities, may not have been entirely valid. The actions of Tarquinius Superbus at the council at Ferentinum, although cloaked in the language of myth, indicated that the personal politics of the *gentes* and their leaders likely dominated over communal or community-based issues during the early incarnations of the League. Indeed, both the military character of the League and the continued dominance of Latin warfare by gentilicial warbands during the late sixth and early fifth centuries make it likely that the Latin League was initially a loose, regional federation composed of aristocratic *gentes*, which may or may not have included local communities, even as late as the year 500.²⁸³

The growing power and influence of urban communities in the politics and warfare of the fifth and early fourth centuries would therefore have had a profound impact on this alliance between regional elites, although Livy evidently assumed that the tenets of the *foedus Cassianum* still governed interactions between Rome and the Latins in the mid fourth century.²⁸⁴ While the agreement may still have held power among the elite *gentes* of the region, whose ancestors had originally ascribed to it, the steady decline in joint Roman-Latin military ventures in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and most notably the lack of Latin help in Rome's war against Veii, suggests that the communities of Latium did not share the same type of military alliance as did the archaic *gentes*. That being said, it is clear that the primary purpose of the treaty, mutual protection of Latin interests, was still alive and well in at least some of the interactions between various Latin communities (and indeed some tribal units, like the Hernici), with communities often coming to the aid of another when attacked by an outside threat.²⁸⁵ Many of the institutions

²⁸¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.61. ²⁸² Alföldi 1965: 13.

²⁸³ The nuances of the military leadership of the Latin League are still up for debate (See Oakley 1997: 335 for discussion of the current positions).

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 336.

²⁸⁵ This mutual defense may have taken various forms. There were a range of incidents, recorded in the sources, where the Latin or Hernici report an invasion to Rome: 495 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.27; Liv. 2.22, 2.24), 494 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.34; Liv. 2.30), 482 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.83), 481 (*ibid.* 9.1), 479 (*ibid.* 9.14; Liv. 2.48), etc. (see Alföldi 1965: 107–108 for a full list). Additionally, Alföldi identified 11 instances between 500 and 400 where Roman and allied forces seem to have acted together: 491 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.91), 480 (*ibid.* 9.5), 478 (*ibid.* 9.16), 475 (*ibid.* 9.34; Liv. 2.53), 468 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.57; Liv. 2.64), 467 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.59), 464 (Liv. 3.5), 460 (*ibid.* 3.9), 459 (*ibid.* 3.22), 450 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.23), and 431 (Liv. 4.26). It is also interesting to note that all of these (except the incident in 450) occurred in years where *praetores* were recorded in the *Fasti*, indicating that

which eased mobility between Latin communities were also still in place. For instance, Livy demonstrated that *conubium* and *commercium* were still shared generally among the Latins in the fourth century,²⁸⁶ and the same was probably true for other rights.²⁸⁷ As a result, while the Latins of the fourth century may not have existed under the same set of conventions as the archaic Latin League (i.e. the *foedus Cassianum*), they were still united by the same basic set of rights and goals as the archaic Latin aristocracy.

This unity was extremely important for the development of Rome's military forces. According to Rome's historians, the Latins under the banner of the Latin League had always formed an important component of Rome's early military forces, although the exact nature of this co-operation is highly enigmatic. The literary accounts often imbued the League with anachronistic aspects based on Rome's later relationship with the Latins, but it is clear that the early League was based primarily on the principle of mutual protection, especially from the Aequi and Volsci during the fifth century, and from Gallic invaders in the fourth. It is also likely that the Latin League represented a much more flexible organization than that typically presented in the literary sources.²⁸⁸ While membership seems to have revolved around socio-religious aspects, each member of the League (both local communities and gentilicial groupings) participated out of largely selfish motivations, forming a federated army only in times of need.²⁸⁹ This broad, federated relationship then formed the basis for smaller, temporary "alliances," where various communities, *gentes*, and tribal groups acted together to accomplish limited, short-term goals.

This loose, federated, mutually beneficial alliance best explains both Rome's relationship with the majority of Latin communities in the fourth century, and indeed the relationship between various Latin communities, down to the year 342.²⁹⁰ Although often sharing common goals and aims,

the alliance was among the Latin elite, and not with the community. Finally, there are four instances between 500 and 400 where the literary sources explicitly claimed that the Latins were not allowed to join the Romans: 495 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.25), 489 (*ibid.* 8.15), 474 (*ibid.* 9.35) 460 (Liv. 3.19). While it is possible (and indeed likely) that many times the Latins/Hernicans appeared in the narrative merely as a *topos* associated with warfare, the clear clustering of the references in the early fifth century, and the decline in references during the second half of the century to virtually none, suggested that they should not all be ignored.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 8.14. ²⁸⁷ Oakley 1997: 339.

²⁸⁸ Alföldi drew attention to the ambiguity of the expression "Latins" in Livy's narrative (Alföldi 1965: 377). For instance, in 383 Livy claimed that Rome suspected that Latium would revolt against her, and then the settlement of Lanuvium was specially mentioned (Liv. 6.21), while in 380 the tribunes complained about the war against the Latins and Praeneste (*ibid.* 6.27).

²⁸⁹ Alföldi 1965: 377–378.

²⁹⁰ There were naturally a few exceptions, most notably the community of Tusculum, whose relationship with Rome was formalized by *municipium* status during the early fourth century (see Chapter 6).

each was free to make its own decisions with regard to foreign policy. However, with the power balance of the region gradually tipping in Rome's favor during the course of the fourth century and, with the threat of Gallic incursions an ever-present fear,²⁹¹ Rome exerted increasingly overt influence on the military forces of Latium's communities for her own personal goals.²⁹² These attempts were largely unsuccessful, and indeed resulted in a backlash against Rome which culminated in the Latin Uprising c. 340.²⁹³

The Latin Uprising

Rome's efforts to draw the Latins together to face the Gallic threat were unsuccessful for a wide variety of reasons. Most notably, the evidence indicates that, unlike in the fifth century, by the mid fourth century the rest of Latium did not share Rome's military goals.²⁹⁴ For instance, some Latin communities, such as Tibur and Praeneste, evidently did not share Rome's fear of the Gauls, and indeed these settlements were recorded as allying with Gallic warbands on at least one occasion.²⁹⁵ There is also evidence for the emergence of a Volscian-led, anti-Roman "coalition" (the term used by Alföldi)²⁹⁶ in southern Latium which, along with various Latin allies, enjoyed some success against Rome in the first half of the fourth century.²⁹⁷ Relationships between the Latins themselves in the fourth century were also marked by an unprecedented level of particularism during this period, whereby the ambitions of powerful communities overshadowed all of the regional unity present in the fifth century, and

²⁹¹ Although the literary record for Rome's battles against the Gauls seemed to contain a large amount of duplication. For instance, the duel of T. Manlius Torquatus was related under the headings of five different years, the Gallic incursion into Campania, after a defeat by the Romans, is recorded in two years, and there is evidence to suggest that late republican annalists expanded single incursions to cover several years (see Alföldi 1965: 361), which led Alföldi to argue that there were only three Gallic incursions into Latium: in 390, c. 360, and again in 350/349 (*ibid.*: 362).

²⁹² This influence was expressed in a wide variety of ways (although it is unlikely to have been as overt as the prayer, attributed to the consuls of 348, to increase Rome's power over the Latins). For the prayer see Harris 1979: 121, 265. This prayer is likely to have been an Augustan forgery (see Momigliano 1941: 165). See Salmon 1982: 192 for discussion.

²⁹³ As the presence of a Volscian-led coalition suggested, the Latin Uprising was itself something of a misnomer, as the "uprising" did not include all of the communities of Latium, and *did* include several non-Latin elements (most notably the Aurunci, Campanians, Sidicini, and Volsci).

²⁹⁴ Alföldi 1965: 378.

²⁹⁵ This occurred c. 360 (Liv. 7.9). See Boatwright et al. 2004: 77 and Alföldi 1965: 342 for discussion.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: 345.

²⁹⁷ Alföldi argued that the influence of the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse may have also played a role in the creation of an anti-Roman faction in Latium, noting both the use of Gallic mercenaries by Dionysius I (possibly even the same Gauls who sacked Rome in 390), and the presence of a Syracusean fleet off the coast of Latium in 349 which may have aided Volscian Antium (*ibid.*: 345).

reflected a new political climate resulting from urbanization and the displacement of the regional elite mentality. Instead of a constantly shifting set of alliances and relationships within a reasonably stable group of clans which, perhaps paradoxically, resulted in a socio-political environment with short-term variability but long-term stability, the fourth century witnessed the rise of more stable communities, led by coalitions of settled *gentes*, with long-term goals and ambitions. The rise of more powerful communities with settled *gentes* led to a far more fragmented approach to regional military action, as each community viewed the others as rivals and no longer as possible allies, and during the 340s many Latin communities grew wary of Rome's increasing power.²⁹⁸ They joined together in an alliance, probably along the lines of the Latin League if not using the same mechanisms, which has traditionally been seen as an attempt to thwart Roman control, although the evidence suggests that this was not the initial motivation.²⁹⁹

The literary sources clearly saw the buildup of Latin forces prior to the Latin Uprising as being directed squarely at Rome.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the first target of the allied Latin army was actually the Samnites in 341, with whom Rome had recently been at war, in 343.³⁰¹ Rome was perhaps a secondary target, and Livy suggested that prior to 340 Rome was unwilling to make a move against the Latins, even when requested to by the Samnites, because she had no right to interfere.³⁰² It was only in 340 that the Latins turned on Rome and two battles were fought, one near Vesuvius and a second at Trifanum, both won by Rome.³⁰³ An additional engagement was fought in 339 at the site of Campi Fenectani,³⁰⁴ followed by battles against Tibur, Praeneste, Lanuvium, Antium, and Velitrae at the site of Pedum, which was not taken until 338.³⁰⁵ After the dispersal of a final Latin force at the River Astura, Roman generals went to each of the opposing Latin communities and demanded surrender.

²⁹⁸ This was expressed quite openly in Rome's actions against various Latin communities in the 340s, and included an attack on Satricum in 346, which was repopulated by people from Antium (Liv. 7.27), and the crushing of an Auruncian force in 345. See Alföldi 1965: 409–410 for additional discussion.

²⁹⁹ It should be noted that while the actual historicity of the Latin Uprising is not doubted, the literary accounts did bear a strong resemblance to the Social War of the first century, and it is likely that the memory of this other great conflict with Rome's "allies" helped to shape the Roman understanding of this early event.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 8.3. ³⁰¹ *Ibid.* 8.2.

³⁰² ... *in foedere Latino, nihil esse, quo bellare, cum quibus ipsi velint, prohibeantur.* ... (*ibid.* 8.2).

³⁰³ See Alföldi 1965: 412 for discussion. ³⁰⁴ Liv. 8.12. ³⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 8.12.

The settlement of 338

The Latin settlement, which Rome instituted after victory in 338, although often described as a single event, was actually a wide range of measures which reflected Rome's varied relationships with the communities and tribes in the region.³⁰⁶ That this settlement took place is supported by a wide range of sources, including Livy, Velleius Paterculus, and *The Oxyrhynchus Chronicle*,³⁰⁷ although exact dates were still somewhat vague. Livy claimed that the settlement was completed in 338, with only the foundation of Acerrae remaining until 332.³⁰⁸ However, Velleius Paterculus stated that the settlement took several years, although exactly how long is unclear.³⁰⁹ As a part of the settlement, the Latin communities of Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum were transformed into *municipia* with Roman citizenship and, along with Tusculum, were assigned to Roman tribes.³¹⁰ Captured Volscian and Campanian communities were treated slightly differently. At Velitrae, the aristocracy was forced to move across the Tiber, possibly hinting at the continued mobility of the Volscian elite, and the walls of the settlement were removed.³¹¹ Captured land was evidently distributed to Roman *coloni*,³¹² and the settlement was converted to a *municipium*, which Salmon considered was likely to have been *civitas sine suffragio*.³¹³ Antium suffered a similar fate, although slightly harsher: land was given over to *coloni* and the navy was confiscated.³¹⁴ Campanian communities, such as Capua,³¹⁵ largely escaped the harsh treatment meted out to the Volsci, and were generally incorporated into the Roman state as *municipia sine suffragio*.³¹⁶

The treatment of Tibur and Praeneste, which represented the most powerful communities in Latium outside of Rome, represented yet another

³⁰⁶ See Oakley 1998: 538–569 for a detailed discussion. ³⁰⁷ Jacoby 1923–1968: 1155.

³⁰⁸ Liv. 8.14. ³⁰⁹ Vel. Pat. 1.14.

³¹⁰ Salmon argued that the division of these new *municipia* into Roman tribes represented an oddity, particularly with the association of Lanuvium with the new tribe of Maecia, as “new Tribes were as a rule intended for old citizens, the Romans not relishing the idea of any Tribe being controlled by newcomers to their citizen body” (Salmon 1982: 47). However, this view of the tribes is likely to have been slightly anachronistic, as the inclusion of new citizens was precisely the reason why new tribes were often created in the early and middle Republic.

³¹¹ Liv. 8.10–14.

³¹² It is entirely uncertain whether these Roman *coloni* retained their Roman citizenship, since Livy's claim that that they were enrolled in Velitrae (*ibid.* 8.14) suggested that they did not.

³¹³ Salmon 1982: 48.

³¹⁴ At Antium, the *coloni* evidently did retain their Roman citizenship. See *ibid.*: 49 for discussion.

³¹⁵ See Oakley 1998: 554–558 for a detailed analysis of Rome's relationship with Capua.

³¹⁶ Oakley argued that the Campanian states still lost their sovereignty as a part of the settlement (*ibid.*: 549).

type of settlement. They were forced to cede territory to Rome, but instead of being incorporated as *municipia*, they maintained their independence while being required to sign treaties which made them effectively dependent satellites of Rome.³¹⁷ Both communities gave up all rights to foreign policy, and to commit their military forces to the will of Rome upon request, in effect recreating the relationship which the Romans had previously enjoyed with the Hernici.³¹⁸

Outside of the communities which engaged in the Latin Uprising, the rest of Latium seems to have continued as before. For instance, Sutrium, Nepes, Signia, Norba, and Ardea all retained their existing political structures, although it is likely that foreign relations were doubtless affected by the sudden regional shift in power which occurred after 338.³¹⁹ Indeed, while the presence of a new orthogonal town plan at Norba, and the appearance of a *praetor* as a local magistrate at Signia, both dating to c. 338, may have been indicative of Roman influence, there is little to no evidence of Roman interference in their internal affairs until 204.³²⁰

The impact of the settlement which resulted from the Latin Uprising was profound for Roman warfare and the Roman approach to conquest. De Sanctis considered that the year 338 and the incorporation of the Latins represented a significant turning point in the history of Rome, in that it marked the culmination of Rome's resurgence in Latium after the Gallic sack and the beginning of her wider dominance of Italy.³²¹ First of all, the Latin settlement secured and regularized Rome's relationship with most of the Latin communities, giving her effective control over all of Latium, *Latium adjectum*, and Campania, removing the most persistent of the threats which Rome had faced since her foundation. Additionally, while Rome had undergone gradual and sustained growth during the course of the fourth century, the sudden addition of such a vast amount of manpower, through both *municipium* and permanent military alliances,³²² allowed Rome's army to function on an entirely new scale, rivalled only by the major Hellenistic powers.

Conclusions

The period between 390 and 338 was one of intense change for Rome's social, political, and military structures. Internally, the Gallic sack of 390

³¹⁷ Salmon 1982: 54. ³¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 54. ³¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 49. ³²⁰ *Ibid.*: 52.

³²¹ De Sanctis 1907: II: 274–275.

³²² See Oakley 1998: 551–552 for a discussion of how communities incorporated into the Roman state could still be termed “allies.”

seems to have acted as a catalyst which helped to bring the integral elements of Rome's two socio-political groups together. It demonstrated the vulnerability of Rome's archaic military system to the overwhelming form of warfare practiced by the Gauls, thereby reinforcing the need for a united, community-based military force in Rome which maximized the available manpower, including both the previously mobile *gentes* and the settled urban population. The Gallic sack also served to focus Rome's foreign policy on the primary objective of increasing her military capabilities. The community accomplished this through a continued emphasis on incorporation, this time with the Latins. During the course of the fourth century Rome extended citizenship, and so expanded her manpower base, through a wide range of methods which included direct incorporation (as in the case of the *ager Veientanus*), the creation of *municipia*, and the use of permanent alliances. The focus on a community-based military force was also reflected in the physical realities of Roman warfare. The period witnessed the large-scale adoption of the oval *scutum*, *pilum*, and Montefortino helmet, forms of equipment which would have been conducive to the incorporation of poorer citizens. Additionally, the period saw the regularization of Rome's archaic military structure through the introduction of the maniple as a tactical formation. These units, which may have represented formalized versions of the archaic warband, helped Rome organize her newly expanded forces and integrate them with her existing military units.

The new prominence of a community-based military ethos did not immediately replace the archaic way of war in Rome. In particular, while land-based warfare was becoming increasingly community-centered in its aims and operations, Rome's naval activities (including both warfare and colonization) retained a decidedly archaic flavor, with raiding and *gens*-based activities remaining dominant. It is also clear that even on land, archaic cultural traits were often hard to dispel. Indeed, on several occasions Rome's fourth century armies acted in a manner befitting their archaic predecessors, particularly with regard to wealth and war booty. These few archaisms aside, the Roman army of the 340s was clearly a very different military institution from that which emerged from the Gallic sack. Rome now regularly incorporated both an expanded "Roman" population and Latin allies in her military activities. Additionally, Rome's strategic sphere of influence was increasing. The intervention in Campania in 343 saw Rome carrying war beyond the confines of central Italy for the first time, initiating a century of expansion in northern and

southern Italy.³²³ As a result, armies ranged further afield and spent increasingly extended periods of time under arms, increasingly during the winter months, and thus they engaged in a new type of protracted warfare.³²⁴

Looking at the social and political ramifications of these changes, the rise of the community-based military ethos can be linked directly to the rise of the “Roman Nobility,” as identified by Gelzer, Hölkeskamp, and others. Working in this new structure, and increasingly identifying with an emerging *Romanitas*, the previous gentilicial identities began to be subsumed within a larger, and increasingly important, civic identity, which ultimately allowed the ending of the Struggle of the Orders in the final decades of the century. Alongside the creation of a true Roman identity and a sense of *Romanitas*, there developed an increasingly apparent Roman–Latin dichotomy, as the previously regional elite began to favor their urban associations over the archaic regional constructs. This is perhaps most visible at Rome, but is likely a regional phenomenon, although inscriptions like that of Caso Cantouio do suggest that this was a slow and gradual process.

³²³ Liv. 7.28–37.

³²⁴ Indeed, Livy recorded that the consuls for the years 335, 334, and 333 all took over armies from their predecessors (Liv. 8.16–17), suggesting an extended period of mobilization. See Oakley 1998: 584 for discussion of the specific passages, see Rosenstein 2004 for more general discussion.

Conclusions

The preceding chapters have argued that the development of the early Roman army during the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries was dominated by the interaction between, and integration of, various socio-political groups in Rome and Latium. Primary among these groups were the region's mobile, elite clans and Rome's settled, urban population. The gradual integration of these two groups, which involved the clans being incorporated into the urban population's socio-political constructs, and the urban population into the clans' military construct, was the driving force behind many of the social, political, and military developments which shaped Rome's historical narrative during the sixth and fifth centuries. Indeed, *The Twelve Tables*, the creation of new magistracies, and the entirety of the Struggle of the Orders can and should be seen as phases in the larger process of integration, and as a part of the shifting relationship between the various facets of Rome's evolving population.

The integration of the clans and urban populations within Rome peaked in the early years of the fourth century,¹ when the Gallic sack of c. 390 acted as a catalyst to accelerate Rome's military integration, which ultimately resulted in the advent of the new patricio-plebeian army and state. This was followed by a separate phase of extramural integration, whereby Rome systematically incorporated many of the other communities in Latium into her social, political, and military matrices. Ostensibly driven by a desire to secure the frontiers of Rome and Latium against the threat from invading Gallic tribes, this second integration represented a very different type of process from Rome's intramural activities, but one which was still governed by Rome's emerging sense of *Romanitas* and the role of the army and warfare as a tool in Rome's social and political arsenal.

¹ This integration did not stop c. 390, however, as it is clear that the interaction/integration of the Rome's various populations continued well into the third century as seen by the gradual opening of various magistracies, priesthoods, and rituals during the later fourth and early third centuries.

The creation of the patricio-plebeian army

The integration of Rome's gentilicial and urban populations, respectively associated with the "patricians" and "plebeians" of the late Republic, was one of the most important developments to occur in early Rome. The mobile, elite clans of Latium, which dominated the early warfare of the region, in many ways represented an archaic, early Iron Age "throwback." These warlords and their accompanying *gentes* (composed of family members, *sodales*, and likely *clientes*) acted as private armies, and seem to have been able to move across central Italy, occasionally dominating settlements for short periods of time, but rarely for more than a single generation.² Although unified and governed by strong social, economic, and religious ties and customs, these *gentes* gained power primarily through military and economic might, either directly through force or fear of force, or indirectly through the distribution of booty acquired through warfare. Despite their associations with various settlements, Latium's warlords and their *gentes* seem to have maintained identities largely independent from the urban communities during the seventh to early fifth centuries, with their social standing based largely on military and economic influence and not socio-political position within a given settlement. The type of warfare practiced by these warbands was a direct reflection of their mobile, extramural character. Rather than conquering territory, members of Latium's gentilicial aristocracy seem to have been more concerned with raiding and the acquisition of portable wealth as part of an effort to increase their own personal prestige, with the wealth either being displayed or distributed in line with existing customs.

In Rome, Latium's gentilicial elite is reflected in a wide range of figures and institutions. Most notably, it is likely that the archaic position of the Roman *rex* was, at its core, a gentilicial warlord which had a reciprocal agreement with the community whereby the warlord protected the community while the community offered the warlord a certain degree of control in the form of archaic *imperium* – in many ways making the community a *cliens* of the *rex*. Apart from this single, community-supported warlord, many larger settlements, and particularly Rome, also seem to have contained an often transient collection of lesser warlords and *gentes*. In Rome, this group gradually expanded and became increasingly settled during the course of the sixth and early fifth centuries as a wide range of social, economic, and demographic pressures worked to push the rural, regional *gentes* to settle in

² This is not to say that these aristocratic *gentes* were rootless nomads, as they did tend to settle down regularly, often near existing settlements. However, these groups did exhibit a potential for a high degree of mobility, rarely forming strong/permanent associations with an individual settlement.

and around communities like Rome. The long-term presence of this collection of warlords and their clans in and around Rome, and their evidently increasing desire for power within the settlement, may have been the catalyst for the revolution of c. 509 and the removal of the *rex* in favor of an aristocratic republic, when the single *rex* was replaced by a federation of local elites. It is clear, however, that despite the institution of the Republic, Roman and Latin warfare remained largely static and was still dominated by local elites and their *gentes*, although there is some evidence for an increasingly unified approach to military activity under the banner of the settlement.

The gradual settling down of the *gentes* in and around Rome, coupled with shifts in the economy of the region and the influx of peoples from the mountainous interior of Italy, served to create long-term military links between the settled, urban population and the traditionally more mobile *gentes*. These links, which seem to have originated primarily as part of a joint defensive initiative to protect the interests of the community,³ became increasingly established and formal as Rome faced prolonged struggles with various tribal peoples, in addition to communities such as Veii. The result of these links was a gradual reorganization of Rome's military forces in the second half of the fifth century, where Rome's urban population became increasingly integrated into the existing *gens*-based military structure. Given that the elite's hold on power had previously been based largely on their virtual monopoly on warfare, it is unsurprising that this development coincided with a dramatic period of state formation in Rome, marked by the advent of the *ensor* and various military magistracies, most notably the consular tribunate, which were designed to bridge the gap between the *gens*-based and urban populations in the military and political spheres. As a part of this increasing integration, no doubt linked to the increasingly sedentary and community-based nature of the *gentes* and because of the increasingly blurred distinction between the urban and gentilicial populations, the mid fifth century also witnessed a series of measures designed to entrench the traditional power of the clans. This can be seen most clearly in the effort to separate the patrician *gentes* from the urban population of the plebeians evident in *The Twelve Tables*, and in the more ambiguous "closing of the patriciate," where the gentilicial elite struggled to retain their position in the absence of a clear military monopoly.

³ It is likely that some members of the urban population had previously had military connections with the elite, either through military obligations (possibly as a result of *nexum*, etc.) or through short term patron-client associations.

The Gallic sack of 390, and the subsequent military pressure which Rome found herself under, served to catalyze this existing trend toward military integration and mutual defense, with the result that Rome finally did away with the archaic, *gens*-based praetorship in favor of the more community-based consular tribunate. When the *imperium* was reintroduced in 367 as part of the consulship, it represented the culmination of the military integration of the urban and *gens*-based populations, as the power was then open to both patricians and plebeians and had become the power to command a community-based military force. With this unified military structure in place, the integration of these two populations was arguably inevitable in other areas as well, and the “opening” of various nonmilitary, patrician magistracies and priesthoods continued well into the third century.

The incorporation of the Latins

With the final integration of the urban and elite populations in Rome’s nascent, community-based army in the early fourth century, the community can be viewed as developing an increasingly discrete concept of Roman citizenship and a unified approach to foreign policy.⁴ During much of the fourth century this policy was dominated by the Roman memory of the Gallic sack, and as a result Rome strove to unite the communities of Latium against this perceived menace. Despite being unified by common cultural and religious ties, Latium still existed as a diverse and disparate collection of *gentes*, tribes, and communities which seem to have held varying views of the supposed Gallic threat. Indeed, the events of the 340s indicate that it was Rome, and not the Gauls, which was seen as the most immediate threat to Latin freedom by many in the region.

Throughout the course of the fourth century, and particularly c. 340, Rome integrated and unified much of Latium, largely by force of arms, although the nature of this integration was by no means uniform. Indeed, Rome utilized a number of different methods of integration, ranging from the creation of *municipia* to the use of alliances, to bind together the various populations of Latium. Behind Rome’s various attempts at integrating the Latins was an emerging Roman identity, which had been absent in earlier years because Rome had herself struggled to find a coherent and cohesive approach to unifying

⁴ Prior to this point, Rome’s foreign policy was simply the result of the various, independent initiatives of Rome’s *gentes* which were only loosely regulated by the community’s nascent state.

her various disparate facets. As a result, the culmination of Rome's integration of the Latins *c.* 340 represented not only the emergence of the Roman army as Rome's late republican authors would have recognized it, as a joint Roman-Latin force, but also the final coalescing of an increasingly concrete Roman identity built not only from the unification of the her urban and elite parts, but also in opposition to her Latin allies.

Conclusions

Ultimately, the goal of this study has not been to present definitive reinterpretations of specific aspects of the early Roman army or of early Roman society, although several possibilities have been put forward, but rather to argue for a paradigm shift in how early Rome and early Roman warfare should be understood. While a detailed understanding of the exact nature of early Roman society will probably be, unfortunately, always out of reach, given the problematic nature of the evidence for the period, by viewing Roman society in terms of its behavior, particularly with regard to warfare, certain broad principles stand out which may help us to better understand the developments occurring in this early period. In particular, when viewing Roman behavior through the lens of warfare, several distinct dichotomies arguably emerge, and by analyzing how these dichotomies interacted and developed a novel understanding of early Roman may be attained.

The implications of this paradigm shift could be surprisingly profound. Although these new social and behavioral divisions often align themselves with previously identified groupings, most notably the archaic "patricians" and "plebeians," or the "Romans" and "Latins," their flexibility with regard to some of the more dogmatic principles assumed by late republican sources, and indeed many modern historians, including concepts of Roman citizenship, group associations, and state control over military power, helps to explain the highly fragmented nature of early Roman politics and warfare with a degree of coherency and consistency never before possible. Additionally, these behavioral divisions of Roman society provide a much more consistent way of tracing the evolution of various groups within Rome, thereby providing more a reliable background for later developments, both inside and outside the sphere of warfare, and thus serving to help reconnect the early history of Rome with later periods.

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